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ABSTRACT

The educational needs and aspirations of a large proportion of Europe's teenagers (13 to 18 years of age) and the provision that is or should be made for them are the subject for this study. Part I of the study describes the pace and magnitude of some of the main socioeconomic changes that are transforming the face of Europe in the second half of this century. Particular emphasis is given to those aspects which most affected the lives of young people who receive only the minimum compulsory schooling before entering employment as apprentices or unskilled workers. Parts II, III and IV review the steps being taken by the education and other authorities responsible for the education and training of these young people to strengthen their capacity to respond to this challenge. Some implications for the recruitment, training and professional development of their teachers are explored briefly in Part V. Part VI attempts to suggest answers to two questions: (1) Is the educational response adequate to meet the socioeconomic challenge? and (2) What more needs to be done? Publications of the Council for Cultural Co-operation related to Education in Europe as well as Companion Volumes are listed. The addresses of sales agents for the Council's publications are given. (Author/DB)

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CONTINUED EDUCATION

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1971

The Council of Europe was established by ten nations on 5 May 1949, since when its membership has progressively increased to eighteen. Its aim is " to achieve a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress ". This aim is pursued by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters.

The Council for Cultural Co-operation was set up by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 1 January 1962 to draw up proposals for the cultural policy of the Council of Europe, to co-ordinate and give effect to the overall cultural programme of the organisation and to allocate the resources of the Cultural Fund. It is assisted by three permanent committees of senior officials : for higher education and research, for general and technical education and for out-of-school education. All the member governments of the Council of Europe, together with Finland, Spain and the Holy See which have acceded to the European Cultural Convention, are represented on these bodies [1].

In educational matters, the aim of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) is to help to create conditions in which the right educational opportunities are available to young Europeans whatever their background or level of academic accomplishment, and to facilitate their adjustment to changing political and social conditions. This entails in particular a greater rationalisation of the complex educational process. Attention is paid to all influences bearing on the acquisition of knowledge, from home television to advanced research ; from the organisation of youth centres to the improvement of teacher training. The countries concerned will thereby be able to benefit from the experience of their neighbours in the planning and reform of structures, curricula and methods in all branches of education.

Since 1963 the CCC has been publishing, in English and French, a series of works of general interest entitled "Education in Europe", which record the results of expert studies and intergovernmental investigations conducted within the framework of its programme. A list of these publications will be found at the end of the volume.

Some of the volumes in this series have been published in French by Armand Colin of Paris and in English by Harraps of London.

These works are being supplemented by a series of " companion volumes " of a more specialised nature, including catalogues, handbooks, bibliographies etc., as well as selected reports of meetings and studies on more technical subjects. These publications, to which the present study belongs, are also listed at the end of the volume.

General Editor :

The Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).

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CONTINUED EDUCATION

A study of the education of young European school leavers during their last years at school and early years at work

by

E. W. SUDALE

1969

Council for Cultural Co-operation
Council of Europe
Strasbourg
1971

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INTRODUCTION

The origin of this study can be traced back to the Second Conference of European Ministers of Education (Hamburg 1961). Accepting a proposal by the British and Austrian Ministers, the Conference recommended that special study should be given to the question of the continued general education of young persons at appropriate schools and the prolongation of compulsory school attendance. This recommendation was subsequently reinforced by Resolution No. 3 of the Ministers' Third Conference (Rome 1962), which expressed the hope that continued education would be carefully studied in the Council of Europe by the Committee for General and Technical Education (EGT) and for Out-of-School Education (EES).

In preparation for the Rome Conference, the Austrian Ministry of Education had sent out a questionnaire to all States of the Council of Europe and signatories of the Cultural Convention. Its subject was " The setting up of educational facilities for young persons from 15-21 years of age who do not enter any institution leading to admission to universities ". A preliminary comparative study (Min. Ed./Rome (62) 15), based on the replies and documentation received, was compiled by Mr. L. Wohlegemuth (Austria) and presented to the Rome Conference. This study revealed that not all respondent countries considered the extension of the period of compulsory schooling to be either the only or the most effective means of raising the educational standards of the young persons covered by the enquiry.

As a basis for the further study called for by the Rome Conference, a joint meeting of experts on technical and continued education (Rome 1964) agreed on the following definition :

"Continued education, in the sense used by the Third Conference of Ministers (Rome 1962) is the education, either on a compulsory or a voluntary basis, of young people who have completed or are about to complete compulsory education, but do not stay on for further full-time studies in secondary schools.

It can be given full-time or part-time under the supervision of the educational authorities and should be a bridge between basic education and taking up a job on the one hand, and adult education on the other. "

Having accepted this definition, the Comittee for General and Technical Education organised a Seminar on Continued Education (Interlaken, June 1965) in co-operation with the Committee for Out-of-School Education, four of whose representatives attended as observers. Whilst fully appreciating that continued education could be interpreted in a much wider sense, the Seminar considered it wise and reasonable to restrict its concern to those young people covered by the EGT's definition, namely those who are about to complete or have completed their compulsory schooling and are at the junction of the different paths that lead to life, either by further schooling or by direct entry into practical life. By aiming at this more modest target, the Seminar was able to follow up the revised preliminary comparative study of Continued Education (CCC/EGT (64) 24) presented by Mr. Wohlegemuth to the EGT in July 1964. It was also able to produce valuable recommendations (Appendix B) on the scope, aims, organisation, methods and staffing of continued education for those young people who were its principal concern. In its final resolution, however, the Seminar fully recognised the existence of forms of continued education other than those which had been the main subject of its discussion, and recommended that they should be made the subject of a further study

This wider interpretation of continued education was given further emphasis by Dr. Th. Piffl Percevic, the Austrian Minister of Education, when presenting his report on Continued Education (Min.Ed./Vienna (65) 2) to the Fifth Conference of Ministers of Education (Vienna, 1965). He pointed out that it encompassed " not only facilities intended for school children (i.e. boys and girls who have not yet entered employment), but also establishments devoted to the education and further education of young persons who are in their first year or years of work and are undergoing paid industrial training as unskilled assistants, trainees or apprentices". He supported the recommendation of the Interlaken Seminar and expressed the willingness of his Ministry to prepare and convene, in co-operation with the Council of Europe, a seminar to study the question of continued education for young people who had already started work.

This generous offer by the Austrian Minister was accepted by the Conference which, in its Second Resolution, recommended that the study of the problems of continued education " be extended with particular reference to the further education associated with the training of apprentices and young workers, and to related problems of lifelong education ". The Resolution

went on to stress " the importance of carrying out these studies having regard to the place of the individual in modern society with its economic demands, and to developments in the school systems of various countries, particularly in upper secondary education ".

With this brief and with these antecedents, a second Seminar on Continued Education met at Baden (Austria) in February 1967. Bearing in mind that an earlier Council of Europe Seminar (Dusseldorf, March 1966) had explored new forms of vocational training for technical trades, the experts assembled at Baden concentrated their study on the general rather than the technical aspects of the continued education of young workers. In doing so, they set themselves to study not only the provision for young workers already receiving further education part-time, but also the situation and needs of those receiving none. As will be seen from its recommendations (Appendix C), this Seminar was able to establish a good deal of common ground with the early Seminar in Interlaken, to which, in the event, it proved genuinely complementary.

It is some measure of the importance attached by the European Ministers to the study of this sector of education that Resolution No. 2 of their Third (Vienna) Conference included a recommendation to the Council for Cultural Co-operation which envisaged the publication, in the Council of Europe's " Education in Europe " series, of a study of the problems of continued education, incorporating both the material assembled by the Austrian Ministry of Education and the deliberations of the Interlaken and Baden Seminars. In selecting an author for this study, the Council of Europe turned, understandably, to the Austrian Ministry, which, with the United Kingdom, had been co-sponsor of the original Hamburg resolution, and had played such a vital role in assembling the comparative material for successive Conferences and Seminars. When their first choice, Dr. Hans Nowotny, who had been closely associated, *ab initio*, with the project was unable, because of his transfer to other duties, to undertake this task, the EGT Committee turned to the other co-sponsor, the United Kingdom, which generously agreed that Mr. E. W. Sudale (H.M. Inspector of Schools), who had served as a member of the United Kingdom delegation to both the Interlaken and Baden Seminars, should be the author of the study.

The author's first task was to define continued education in a form which would correctly interpret the Ministers' intentions in recommending a study of the subject. Their initial Hamburg recommendation clearly stressed the aspect of longer compulsory schooling. Replies to the Wohlegemuth questionnaire, however, showed that several members considered this to be too narrow an interpretation, and that vocational and further education schools and colleges catering for young workers should also be included. Joined with this was a concern for those young people who, either because of the brevity of their compulsory schooling, or because of the inadequacy of provision for their post-school education, were not receiving any continued education. This broadened definition formed the basis of the complementary studies of the Interlaken and Baden Seminars, and was embodied in Resolution No. 2 of the Vienna Conference.

This study, then, is concerned with the education of what is a large proportion or even the majority of Europe's teenagers. Dependent on the educational systems of their respective countries, their ages range from 13 - 18. Making all the necessary allowances for national differences of economic, social and educational opportunity, they include a relatively high proportion of those of average or less than average ability. Some are in their last years of compulsory full-time attendance at either a primary or a secondary school. Others are in full-time vocational training, which may or may not include an element of continued general education. Others are at work, with some voluntary or compulsory continued education, either inside or outside working hours. Some, for a variety of economic or social reasons, are not gainfully employed at all, while many of those who are so employed are not receiving any continued education of an organised or formal kind.

These young people, then, their educational needs and aspirations, and the provision that is or should be made for them, are the subject of this study.

PART I

THE PUPIL, THE YOUNG WORKER AND SOCIETY

1. *The young people with whom this study is concerned*

(i) This study is concerned with the education of a large proportion, perhaps still a majority, of Europe's teenagers. Their ages range from 13 to 18, depending on the educational systems of their respective countries. Making the necessary allowances for national differences of economic, social and educational opportunity, they include a relatively high proportion who are of average or less than average ability. Few will have parents who themselves received more than the minimum of compulsory schooling and who are in occupations which required them to undertake further education and training. Some of these young people are in their last years of compulsory full-time attendance at upper primary, middle, lower technical or lower secondary schools. Others are undergoing full-time vocational training, which may or may not include an element of continued general education. Others are at work, but are receiving some voluntary or compulsory continued education,either within or outside working hours. Some, for a variety of economic or social reasons, are not gainfully employed at all, while many who are employed are not receiving any continued education of an organised or formal kind.

(ii) Amidst all their diversity of nationality, language and environment, they have one thing in common : they were born in the 1950s, and have grown up to adolescence in the 1960s ; barring catastrophe, they can expect to live well into the twenty-first century. Even in their short lives so far, the world has changed at an unprecedentedly rapid pace, and the effects of this change have been all-pervasive, reaching out from the industrial heartlands to the remotest areas of Western Europe, from the Arctic Circle to the toe of Italy. Although trends are not laws, and there is no absolute certainty that the pace of change will be sustained, it is a reasonable working hypothesis that it will, and that its effects on the living, learning and working conditions of these young Europeans, and the generations that will succeed them, will be even more profound and pervasive. If it was ever wise or possible to think of education as something which could stand apart from its economic and social context, it is not so now, when technical change is not only rendering obsolete much of the knowledge and skill which people have laboured to acquire and when social and demographic change has brought new status, new towns, new relationships.

2. *Post-war economic development*

(i) " Of all the driving forces of change in the present day, among the strongest are those which show up in economic form, those that bear upon the amount of money and other resources that is made available for the educational system, or upon the living the pupils in the schools are looking forward to being able to earn. [1]"

It is significant that the report in which this statement appeared was published in 1959, towards the end of a decade during which Europe, with a remarkable resurgence of vitality, had not only made good much of the disruption and destruction of the second world war, but had gone on to new and higher levels of economic activity, bringing improved standards of living to vast numbers of its people.

(ii) Three principal driving forces sustained this development :

— a high and continuing level of investment in the means of producing both goods and services ;

— increasing consumer demand made possible by a greater production of wealth, its more equitable distribution, and a reduction of unemployment ;

— an expansion of both European and world trade.

(iii) As the rising tempo of economic activity drew more unemployed and under-employed resources into productive use, shortages, especially of certain types of manpower, appeared in key sectors of the European economy. In contrast to the inter-war period, when many countries suffered from chronic or concealed unemployment, labour as a factor of production was now, as the boom continued, relatively scarce and expensive. This in turn reinforced the already substantial incentives for the more rapid application of scientific and technological discoveries to the productive process.

(iv) By the early 1960s, it had become apparent that in the process of reconstruction and expansion, the economics of many European countries were being profoundly re-shaped. Nowhere

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1. *15 to 18*, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), H.M.S.O. London 1959, Vol. 1, p. 45.

was this more striking than in agriculture. Production grew, but productivity grew still faster, under the impact of higher demand, improved transport and a rate of investment well above the pre-war level. A survey of agriculture and economic growth in 10 European countries by OECD revealed that the number of tractors had grown from just over 3/4 million in 1950 to more than 3 million in 1962. Fertilisers, pesticides, improvements in seed strains and in animal breeding had also played their part, reinforced by the growing trend towards " factory " methods in the production of poultry, eggs and meat. Changes in the size and nature of the farming unit were a corollary of these developments. Other basic industries were changing too. After a long sustained post-war boom, coal reached its peak as a source of power and propulsion, but the longer-term trend towards its replacement by oil, natural gas, hydro-electricity and nuclear power was not to be denied, so that by the early 1960s, it was already facing a shrinking future. In transport, rail systems were progressively pruned in face of competition from road and air transport ; in all three, the trend towards greater speed, sophistication and bulk handling was marked.

(v) In manufacturing industry, the complexity and rapidity of technological change was the keynote. The spearhead was the electronics industry. Essentially a post-war development, its new devices for measurement, computing, and automatic transfer opened new dimensions for accelerating and controlling large-scale production. Hydro-carbon chemistry laid the foundation for the petro-chemical industry and for the flood of plastic and synthetic products (many of them substitutes for "natural" materials) which flowed from it. New metals, especially alloy-steels and aluminium came into large-scale production. The application of discovery and research to older industries like shipbuilding, steel, cotton and glass progressively transformed their processes of production. In face of the enormous demands of post-war re-building and the subsequent explosion of cities and industries, the construction and civil engineering industries were clearly moving into a new phase of large-scale mechanised operations.

(vi) With these changes came a rapid growth in the tertiary sector of economic activity, namely the personal and professional services. Some, like commerce, public administration and the law, throve on the increasing complexity of modern society ; the social services were the economic expression of a more widespread concern for the individual and the improved capacity of society to provide for it (within this sector, education was perhaps the most rapidly growing industry) ; yet a third form of services, most notably entertainment and recreative provision of all kinds, was growing from small-scale to mass proportions to meet the buoyant demands of people with more leisure and more money to spend on it.

(vii) Not all the countries of Western Europe nor, indeed, all regions of individual countries, shared equally in the impact, benefits and upheavals of these developments. But in an age of increasing inter-dependence, and in a world grown smaller through what was virtually a second revolution in transport and communications, none remained unaffected, while the lives of many were transformed. After the slow growth or even semi-stagnancy of the twenties and the thirties, the speed of change was both exciting and disturbing, and there seemed little reason to expect the pace or profundity to diminish in the foreseeable future.

3. *Some consequences for employment*

(i) "Technical progress, having transferred men from the fields to the factory, is finally moving them from the factory towards liberal and commercial activities or, more precisely, into services concerned with human organisation and relationships [1]. "

(ii) In these oft-quoted words, Louis Cros, with excusable prophetic licence, dramatically epitomised the impact of technical change on the nature and structure of employment in the second half of the 19th century. The move from field to factory was no new phenomenon in the more industrialised economies. What was startling, though, was the size and accelerating pace of the movement, spurred on by the twin stimuli of industrial growth and the rise in agricultural productivity. Industry needed more workers not only in its established centres but also in the small country towns, to which it was increasingly prepared to move its factories in a search of labour. Agriculture, with more machines, larger farm units and improved techniques, needed less. Thus, between 1955 and 1964, Italy's agricultural labour force shrank by one third, while those of France and the Federal Republic of Germany lost a quarter each. Between 1960 and 1967, the numbers employed in British agriculture, forestry and fishing, admittedly a smaller proportion of the total labour force than in most European countries, fell by a further 40 %. Large-scale transfers were also taking place in the Scandinavian countries and were expected to continue.

1. *L'explosion scolaire*, Louis Cros, C.V.I.P., Paris 1960, p. 19.

In Sweden, the Long-Term Economic Planning Committee, set up in 1965, forecast that employment in agriculture and forestry would fall by 5 % per annum up to 1970, involving an annual reduction of some 85,000 persons. Despite measures taken in many countries to control and modify these movements, it is clear that the underlying structural changes which have brought them about is by no means exhausted, and that large sections of the rural population, especially the young, will continue to face radically changed employment prospects.

(iii) For those who stay on the land, it means the learning of a whole new range of techniques. The operation, care and maintenance of farm machinery needs a different order of skill and knowledge from that required by the draught animals and hand tools which they replace. Larger-scale production in bigger units brings specialisation. Artificial foodstuffs for animals and fertilisers for crops, control of breeding and hygiene require knowledge, or at least understanding of their scientific bases. The whole process implies, too, the development of a new range of ancillary services offering employment markedly different from work on the traditional family farm. New methods in forestry, fishing and viticulture have wrought similar changes.

(iv) Motor transport, improved roads, air travel, extended leisure and higher incomes have combined to generate a vast boom in tourism, both intra-national and international, bringing new economic activity to once remote areas of mountain, lake and sea-coast, and creating new and non-traditional forms of employment Again, this trend is unlikely to be reversed.

(v) For those who continue to leave the land, some stay in their own region, but find employment in factories or in the service occupations in country towns, travelling daily from their native villages, or setting up new homes nearer their place of work. For others — and here the great migration from Southern Italy to the North and beyond is the most dramatic example — the transplantation is even more radical.

(vi) The impact of technical progress and rapid expansion on the pattern of employment in manufacturing industry is extremely complex. The key factor has been the emergence of a progressive shift, still far from complete in even the most highly developed Western European economies, from labour-intensive to capital-intensive production methods. The new industries at the spearhead of expansion, like electronics, plastics and petrochemicals tend to employ more fixed capital and less workers per unit of output than the older industries, while within these older industries themselves — iron and steel is a striking case — technological advances have worked to the same end. Although employment in manufacturing industry has risen in most countries, it has not risen as fast as production, as more and more firms substituted machinery and plant for labour. A similar trend can be observed in other industries which have traditionally been heavy employers of labour. In coal-mining, the post-war fuel famine brought a boom in demand, and a shortage of labour in all Europe's coal producing areas. A spectacular rise in wages stimulated mechanised mining, while the rise in prices induced coal-consumers both to economise in coal use and to look for substitutes like oil, natural gas and nuclear power. So rapid was the advance on all these fronts that, by the early 1960s, the mining labour force began to decline with increasing rapidity, with marked effect in Wales, Scotland, North Eastern England, the Ruhr, Southern Belgium and Lorraine.

(vii) Side by side with the changes in the relative labour demands of certain major industries came a significant and enduring shift in the nature of their demands. As less labour was needed at the actual point of production, the " non-manual " employment in offices, laboratories, drawing offices, work-study sections, maintenance, planning, service and sales departments increased. True, the demand for skilled manual workers rose too, but the sort of manual skills required were often of a different order of versatility from the craft expertise which traditional apprentice training, geared to smaller-scale production, had hitherto produced. As Professor Michael Postan noted " The skills of skilled employees were not necessarily greater than before. They were, however, frequently different ; more specialised, more departmentalised, more technologically informed, less practical and less rooted in tradition and routine..." [1].

(viii) This is not to argue that technological change had, by the mid-1960s, advanced so far as to bring about a major fall in the demand for unskilled, untrained industrial labour. The high level of employment enjoyed by most of Europe's industrial regions was a clear demonstration to the contrary. Nevertheless, periods of relative recession or of slowing down in the rate of growth revealed symptoms full of meaning for the future. At such times it was the unskilled workers, or those whose skill was specific to a contracting industry or occupation, and not readily transferable, who were more prone to temporary redundancy or even longer-term unemployment.

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1. *An Economic History of Western Europe,* M.M. Postan, Methuen, London 1967.

(ix) Finally, in this foreshortened and highly selective review of the employment consequences of post-war economic change, one must examine some implications of what might be called the " services " or " tertiary " explosion. Employment statistics do not always reveal the full nature of this shift which, as we have seen, is not confined to "services" as traditionally defined, but is taking place within individual industries. In essence, it means that less and less people find employment which involves them physically in the production and transformation of materials, while more and more of them are concerned with the recording, interpretation and communication of information, with the rendering of services which require personal and social skills and qualities of intuition, extroversion and imagination. On the employment front alone, therefore, young people all over Europe face an economic future whose main possibilities have already emerged from the pattern of post-war economic development. The labour market demands more and more skilled workers, and less and less semi-skilled production workers and labourers. It asks for new skills in proliferating variety, while many of the old ones decline into obsolescence and redundancy. The very basis of acquisition of skills continues to change. Physical strength and manual dexterity are less important than a quantum of broad mechanical understanding, some acquaintance with the physical sciences, and a capacity both for interpretation and communication. Once acquired, moreover, a skill no longer guarantees life-long security and status, but may well have to be replaced, in mid-career, by a new one.

(x) These prospects present a particular challenge to the vast numbers of young Europeans who have hitherto only received the compulsory minimum of full-time schooling. Many of their traditional employments, success in which did not primarily depend on the sort of skills fostered in the schools, now call for a smaller, but better educated, more sophisticated and adaptable labour force. Agriculture and mining are striking examples of this trend, striking because of their pace of change and its dramatic impact, in terms of unemployment and economic stagnation, on the regions concerned. Less apparent but more pervasive is the slow but inexorable replacement of routine, semi-skilled factory labour by automated production processes.

(xi) As many traditional employment opportunities for the young school leaver decrease, others expand. But there is a marked difference between old and new. The former rarely required educational entry qualifications, or even a degree of literacy above that which could be acquired by completing the compulsory minimum of elementary education. Often too there was no need to leave one's home, family or local community when one left school and went to work. The new opportunities, on the other hand, require a general education which has at least some elements traditionally regarded as secondary. To an increasing extent, moreover, they are not available locally, so the young worker must train or work away from home, severing himself wholly or partly from his familiar environment. And yet, many of these young people have hitherto, because of their minimal education, been ill-prepared for such radical challenges.

(xii) Just as the new manpower needs of the first industrial revolution provided one of the main dynamics for the establishment of universal compulsory education in the 19th century, so what has often been called " the technological revolution " of the mid-20th century has again provided a driving force for educational reform, and faced the school systems with new dimensions and new opportunities. The extent of the challenge can be epitomised in quotations from two important reports, one national, one international.

(xiii) " The future pattern of employment in this country will require a much larger pool of talent than is at present available ; ... at least a substantial proportion of the ' average ' and ' below average ' pupils are sufficiently educable to supply that talent. The need is not only for more skilled workers to fill existing jobs, but also for a generally better educated labour force to meet new demands. [1] "

(xiv) "People now live and work in an increasingly sophisticated urban society and industrial system. They must be ready to participate in an alert and competent manner. Their educational preparation must be more adequate to assume greater individual responsibilities and participate in the management and operation of production or service units in which decision-making processes are more crucial and take more time than actual manual performance of duties. They not only have to follow the precepts of the past, but must be ready to discriminate among and accept those of the future. The readiness to change attitudes and ideas becomes more important than even the performance of specific manual duties. Education has to cultivate the habits and attitudes of learning to dispose people to the processes of continuous learning through a lifetime. [2] "

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1. " Half our Future ", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), H.M.S.O., London 1963, p. 5.
2. "Manpower Aspects of Automation and Technical Change ". Final report OECD, Paris 1966, pp. 101-2.

4. *Some post-war social changes*

(i) From the vast complex of post-war social changes, it is only possible to summarise those which have particular importance in shaping the needs, aspirations and attitudes to continued education of the young people with whom this study is concerned.

(ii) *Family influence*

Speaking at the Baden Seminar, Dr. H. Nowotny (Austria) drew attention to the potent influence on young people of the attitudes of their parents and of the social group to which they belong, and its crucial effect on their demand for and response to opportunities for extended education and training. Which particular aspects of social change, then, have particular relevance to the family environment of the young school leaver ? There is no doubt that many households, traditionally regarded as " working class ", from which the great majority of young school leavers come, have had some share in the general post-war rise in material standards of living. So much is manifest from statistics of money wages, real wages and of consumption. Equally important for working-class living standards has been the relatively high and sustained level of employment achieved by many European countries, especially since 1960, when unemployment has rarely exceeded 2.5 % of the working population. The increased range of social security benefits and payments has often brought a significant transfer of income in favour of the lower income groups. Family and child allowances, whether in the form of direct payments or tax relief, the general progress towards the abolition of school fees, and the increasing public provision of school books and subsidised school transport have combined to blunt the edge of the economic incentive which formerly prompted many working class parents to expect their children to leave school and enter employment at the earliest possible moment. It should be stressed, however, that these developments represent only a general trend, whose extent varies not only from country to country, but also from one section of the working class to another within individual countries. There are still many poor households whose poverty may stem less from the lack of a minimum income than from social incompetence or unavoidable misfortune. Family allowances may not necessarily be spent on the children for whose benefit they are intended. Moreover, even where education is free and publicly provided "there is still something which a family has to 'afford' when it sends its children to school, especially when the legal compulsion to do so has expired" [1]. This is especially true of adolescents who need adult quantities and standards of food and clothing, and have tastes in entertainment which are expensive to satisfy.

Even in the most economically developed countries, moreover, there are sections of the population which have not fully shared in the relative affluence of the post-war years. A high average level of employment may yet co-exist with serious localised unemployment, especially in areas whose traditional industries have suddenly declined. Changes in agriculture have often led to a degree of unemployment or underemployment not fully revealed by manpower statistics. The millions of workers who have migrated to other regions or other countries may well have found employment, but only at the cost of divided families, or poor living conditions in their new situations. The increasing concentration of Europe's population in expanding conurbations has often brought serious shortages of the type of rented housing needed by the working-class family. The American phenomenon of "inner-ring decay" is not without its European counterparts, and shanty-towns are not unknown, even though their hovels may boast a television set or a refrigerator.

This co-existence of poverty and affluence is no new phenomenon, nor does it nullify the general trend of improvement. In the context of this study, however, it is as well to remind ourselves that although many working class families can now afford a longer education and training for their children, there are many for whom, if it is possible at all, it is so at the cost of real financial sacrifice.

Much, therefore, depends on whether parents consider the sacrifice, be it large or small, worthwhile. For them to do so they must be convinced that the longer education and training which, for the most part, they did not themselves receive will be of greater benefit to their children than early employment in a dead-end job. Two major factors — their evaluation of the education given, and their vocational aspirations for their children — will influence their decision.

To parents whose own schooling was minimal, the contemporary school system is often unfamiliar and sometimes forbidding. Many are aware that changes are taking place, and generally look on them with favour. They value the more interesting and varied curricula and are impressed by the improvements in school building. They are usually aware of the better opportunities open to those who remain longer at school and gain some recognised qualification. But their information

1. Crowther Report, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 46.

rarely goes further than this, and there are often major psychological obstacles in their way if they seek to extend it. Consciousness of their own social and educational shortcomings often leads to a diffidence in seeking closer contact with their children's teachers which middle class parents do not share. The schools themselves are not always conscious of these difficulties, and may mistake diffidence for lack of interest. There are parents, of course, who are not interested, and are content to delegate the whole task of education to the school. In some cases, this indifference may well harden into hostility if what the schools provide, as seen through the eyes of their children, seems boring or irrelevant. Influenced by their own educational experience, they will tend to attach considerable importance to what they consider the basic skills of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and speaking "properly", and rather less to those parts of the curriculum which are not obviously utilitarian.

Their vocational aspirations for their children are inevitably coloured by their own experience. Careful or ambitious parents will think in terms of jobs for their sons which offer security, the chance to learn a marketable skill, and prospects of future advancement. For their daughters employment may be seen as a temporary prelude to courtship and marriage and be judged by the extent to which it serves to promote this end by enabling them to meet a variety of people and maintain acceptable standards of dress, appearance and social intercourse. In so far as longer education appears to improve their children's prospects of getting this type of employment, such parents will favour it. Hence the abiding popularity of lower technical or vocational schools in certain European countries, and the parental support for the introduction of vocationally-biased studies into lower secondary education.

Other working-class parents will be less ambitious for their children, being content to see them follow the occupations which are traditional to their own social class or neighbourhood. In circumstances of full employment, they may well weigh the fact that much unskilled or semi-skilled work is well paid and, in the short run, relatively secure, against the financial disadvantages of longer education and training. For these parents, their children's contentment at school and at work may well seem more important than their long-term prospects. The experience of older brothers and sisters, of other relatives and friends, can also sway their choice.

In short, the schools cannot look to the economically under-privileged and culturally impoverished homes, from which many continued education pupils come, to provide the level of support and understanding which they have been accustomed to receive from the parents in more fortunate economic or social circumstances. Indeed they may often have to face indifferent or even hostile family attitudes arising from the gap between the cultural and vocational outlook of school and home, a gap which, in the short run, may widen with the increasing contrast between the educational and employment experience of past and present generations.

(iii) *The attitudes of young people*

Many currents of post-war social change have influenced young people's attitudes to school.

The first, itself the product of improved health services and higher living standards, is earlier physical maturation. Over a long period of years, puberty in girls has been beginning earlier in most Western countries, and there is no doubt that boys are also maturing earlier. At the same time, the lengthening of school life has meant that an increasing part of this stage of physical maturation will take place while they are at school, and with it the restiveness, uncertainty and emotional insecurity which so often accompany this watershed of growth.

At the same time, there has been some weakening of the constraints and sanctions which have traditionally — for better or worse — regulated the pace at which young people progress toward freedom to make their own decisions and to regulate their own destinies. One facet of this — the limited competence of family guidance in educational and vocational choice — has already been noted. But it goes much further. In many parts of Europe, and especially in its great conurbations, profound economic and social changes have eroded the regulatory framework of home, family, village or neighbourhood. Young people see more of the wider world and its ways, if not at first hand, then through the selective eye of the mass media. They are more free to choose and are more aware of the range of choice at their disposal. The fact that many have more money to spend has not been lost on the commercial interests, and the teenage consumer has, within a mere matter of a decade, become an important sector of the consumer society.

These diverse and powerful pressures are at work on all young people, creating a challenge to all types of secondary school. But, for children who lack strong educational motivation and countervailing parental encouragement, they will be hard to overcome. The high post-war level of economic activity has meant that many young school leavers without educational qualifications have had little difficulty in finding unskilled but relatively highly paid employment. The fact that

these jobs carried little prospect of training or future advancement weighed less than the immediate attractions of release from school to the apparent freedom of the adult world, with more money of their own to spend and no lack of things to buy with it. Girls are especially open to the alternative attractions of working life. Earlier physical maturity and the continuing trend towards earlier marriage have combined to make many of them regard employment as a limited interlude on the way to courtship and marriage, to which they feel extended education and training are irrelevant, despite the increasing possibility of their continuing to work after marriage or returning to it when their children have grown up.

If, at the most unstable period of their adolescence, when leaving school seems to offer an escape to the attractive realities of the grown-up world, young people find little satisfaction in the education and training which they are offered, then the schools' task becomes even more difficult. For those who, whether by reason of linguistic inadequacy, disadvantages of social and physical environment, or lower ability have failed, even from their elementary school days, to reach the often rigid standards of attainment set by the schools, the sense of failure may result in a mood of hopelessness and frustration. By the time they approach the end of their compulsory schooling, they are only anxious to be rid of education as they know it. In this state of mind a job — any job — may seem preferable to staying at school. Many of them find solace in the world of myths, slogans, idols and stereotypes created by the radio, television and the cinema, a world into which, unlike many adults, they have been born and which has been an integral factor in shaping their attitudes and values.

(iv) *Work and leisure*

An important by-product of post-war economic development has been the change in the extent and significance of young people's leisure time. Sometimes, and rather misleadingly, this is referred to as the "problem" of leisure, and discussions about it are based on broad generalisations about the shortening of hours of work, greater spending-power, and the proliferation of attractive leisure-time pursuits.

These generalisations are substantially, if not universally, true for many young people in Western Europe and are likely to become more so if present trends continue.

It is, nevertheless, dangerously easy for adults, impressed by the apparent differences between the rigours of their own youth and the greater freedom of the modern young, to overstate the change. While children at school enjoy greater leisure, often because the need for them as part-time labour is diminishing, there is a general movement in many countries towards a longer school-day or school year. To this must be added other, and less obvious extensions. As more young people enter secondary education, they spend more time in homework outside school hours. The progressive disappearance of the parochial or neighbourhood school, and its replacement, in rural areas or in traffic-congested towns, by a larger centralised institution, often means increased travelling time for the pupils. Although the young worker's working day and working week are shrinking, he too may have to travel further to his job or to the day or evening classes which are an increasingly widespread feature of continued education.

It is also easy to exaggerate the affluence of young people in their last years at school or their first years at work. Many older school children do part-time jobs from personal or family necessity. Despite the relatively high rates of pay for juvenile labour in some industrial areas, there are many young workers, especially girls, who still work long hours in poorly paid jobs, while others, as apprentices or trainees, receive low wages during their training period. And then there are the young unemployed, those for whom either jobs do not exist, or are only seasonally available in their native country, region or area. Where economic change, whether in industry or agriculture, has produced a rapid decline in the demand for young unskilled labour, their poverty is real indeed, and may well be partly concealed by inadequate or outdated statistics. As Mr. Caron (France) reminded the Baden Seminar, "For all the extension of certain fashions of dress and the advent of a civilisation where all are 'peers' in the same age-group, the fact is that in all countries there exists a poverty-stricken, under-privileged section of youth."

With these substantial reservations, however, it is reasonable to proceed on the general hypothesis that the leisure time of many young people and their means to enjoy it are increasing and will continue to do so.

It is equally important to recognise the changes that are coming about in young people's views of the relative significance of work and leisure in their lives. For many young workers now, and probably for far more in the future, work is not an end in itself, self-sufficient and satisfying, but rather is it means to buying the possibilities for leisure. We have to challenge the assumption,

not that work is necessary to man, but that it is his chief means to self-realisation. The connection between work and the standard of living is basically inescapable, but many of the young people with whom this study is concerned will decreasingly regard the shorter hours which they spend at work as the most significant or important part of their lives.

Many adults, including educationists, have been concerned at the ways in which young people are spending their increased leisure and money. They have been disturbed by the rise in juvenile delinquency, by the more garish and strident manifestations of a commercialised teenage culture, by the disinterest or even contempt of many young people for the efforts of officially sponsored or socially approved forms of youth activity. They have been puzzled by the oft-repeated complaints of boredom even in circumstances which seemed rich with possibilities for a "proper" use of leisure.

While much of this concern may have its roots in the gap between the generations, and in a failure to appreciate the variety of healthy uses to which many young people put their leisure, it is often well-founded for the minimally educated and socially under-privileged youngsters for whom the street corner, the cafe, the coffee-bar, the cinema and the television set too often represent the limits of their leisure-time horizon. While the local youth club, if there is one, may attract some of them for a time, ignorance, indifference and suspicion, often bred by a growing realisation of their limited personal and social competence outside their own immediate friendship groups, prompt them to seek commercialised entertainment with its more glamorous image and expert salesmanship, where they are treated as adults capable of choosing and buying their own recreation, having their own rights as paying-customers regardless of social or educational distinctions.

5. *Some consequences of economic and social change for continued education*

(i) To sustain the momentum of economic change and to fructify its social consequences, modern society needs better educated citizens. The re-shaping of old industries and the emergence of new ones have profoundly changed the nature and incidence of the demand for labour at all levels. New knowledge, new skills and new attitudes are required as much by the ordinary worker and citizen as by the social and educational elite.

(ii) Greater economic potential, together with improved employment, income, and social welfare make it increasingly possible for more young people to receive education and training of longer duration and of wider range and content. But it is only a possibility. For it to be fully realised requires a progressive transformation in the attitudes and expectations both of the young people themselves and of their parents, many of whom have hitherto received only the minimum of education and training.

(iii) For lower secondary and vocational education, these developments imply radical changes in structure and content. Structurally, they must accommodate a school population which is not only larger, older and physically more mature, but which may be socially and intellectually more diverse than hitherto. They must be so organised as to enable both boys and girls to receive an education which is appropriate to their ages, abilities, aptitudes and interests. Among their pupils will be those who are capable of further progress to higher secondary and technical education, and it is vital that they should be prepared and encouraged to do so. And yet there will be many for whom this stage of education will be either a preliminary to direct entry into employment, or a part-time accompaniment of their early years at work. For all, appropriate educational and vocational guidance will be vital.

(iv) Changes in curriculum are equally necessary. The traditional primary skills of reading, writing and calculation will need adaptation, if not transformation, in face of mass communications and "outside" educative influences, to say nothing of the linguistic diversity and increased maturity of the pupils. Social competence and vocational interest (especially for the increasing numbers who will work in the expanding tertiary sector) alike demand new approaches to spoken language as a tool of effective communication which surmounts social and educational differences. Some introduction to mathematics, to the physical sciences and to technology will be necessary for all young citizens, and not just for those who will be employed in industry. In a more mobile, pluralistic and interdependent society, the social and civic education of its emergent citizens takes on new dimensions and a new urgency. New patterns and possibilities for leisure will need to be reflected in the provision for aesthetic, physical and other compensatory or re-creative education. In a more permissive society, religious and moral education needs a new content and a new approach, especially when many young people may face an early uprooting from family environment and local community alike as they leave home to follow their employment.

The traditional curricula of lower vocational education face an equally radical challenge. Their role is no longer to prepare young people, mainly through training in manipulative skills,

for a specific manual craft which they can expect to practise for the rest of their working lives. In its place will come a much broader preparation not only for their present or immediately prospective jobs, but for the further re-education and training which many of them will inevitably need as technological change continues. This in turn implies a growing area which is common to both the so-called " general " and " vocational " curricula for the continued education pupil.

(v) Implicit in these changes is the central thesis that the continued education of the ordinary pupil shall be so re-structured and reconstituted that, while gaining responsiveness to the needs of modern society, it shall not lose its immediacy and relevance in the eyes of the young people for whom it is intended. A broader and extended general education for all pupils does not necessarily mean a watered-down version of what has been hitherto provided for a socially privileged elite already conditioned by their family background to embrace its values and methods. Such an approach could well result in continued education's becoming little more than a prolongation of the conflict between pupils who find it alien and irrelevant to their own values and way of life, and teachers who are discouraged and frustrated by their apparent failure to communicate. On the other hand, direct and early preparation for a specific job, often successful in re-awakening the ordinary pupil's energies and interests through its practical approach, may be equally inappropriate. In the interests both of society, and of the long-term interests of the pupils themselves, of which they may not yet be aware, this narrow focus of vocational interest will have to be broadened to include subject matter which, being theoretical, may at once tax the ability of the ordinary boy and girl and yet seem remote from the working life which they have been conditioned to expect.

PART II

CONTINUED EDUCATION AT SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

POST-WAR REFORMS

1. *Developments in the structure of lower secondary education*

(i) *The extension of the period of schooling*

In the post-war period, and especially since the mid-1950s, virtually all member States of the Council of Europe have been engaged in making provision for the extension of the period of full-time schooling (see Table I). This has been based on the growing and increasingly wide-spread conviction that the economic and social conditions of the modern world demand that as many children as possible should be provided with a more substantial base of education from which they can variously move forward to employment, to further education and training, and to adult life.

The educational reforms undertaken by most member States envisage an extension of compulsory schooling for all young people. Within this broad consensus, however, two main schools of thought may be discovered, which differ not so much in their ultimate aims as on questions of approach and timing. The first envisages a relatively early introduction of extension by compulsion, the second by the progressive stimulation of voluntary extension beyond a relatively limited compulsory minimum period. Thus, since 1947, the United Kingdom, Sweden, France, Austria, Luxembourg, Iceland, a number of cantons in Switzerland, the majority of States in the Federal Republic of Germany and of local authorities in Norway have, at the time of writing, extended the compulsory period by one or two years beyond the age of 14. On the other hand, Belgium, Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands have placed their main short-term emphasis on encouraging as many children as possible to continue full time schooling on a voluntary basis beyond age 14, while envisaging an ultimate extension of the compulsory period.

Whether they have preferred compulsory or voluntary extension, all countries have experienced a substantial rise both in the absolute numbers and in the proportion of young people remaining in full time schooling for one or two years after age 14. It is worth noting that certain countries (Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands are notable examples) which have concentrated on voluntary extension have been relatively successful in persuading a high proportion of their young people to complete more than one additional voluntary year of full time schooling, while retaining a minimum compulsory age of 14.

For continued education, however, the voluntary/compulsory distinction is important. The voluntary approach aims to enable all children who, whether of their own or their parents' volition wish to stay longer at school, to do so. But it allows those who do not wish to stay on, to leave, and in all the countries which have preferred this method, a certain proportion of the age group does not, in effect, continue in full time schooling beyond age 14. The compulsory method, on the other hand, lengthens the schooling of the whole age group. Although it opens the doors of opportunity for many children to whom, but for compulsion, they would have been closed, it also keeps in school a proportion of pupils who would not have stayed. And it is these latter children who, for many educators, present the nub of the problem of continued education.

(ii) *Changes in the structure of lower secondary education*

This extension of schooling had considerable implications for school structures which, in most countries, were still of the vertical or parallel type. A long grammar school type secondary education for a selected and more or less elite minority coexisted with a short terminal and general or vocational education for the majority. These clear distinctions had long been blurred by the emergence of a variety of "intermediate" schools which, while falling short of recognition as genuine secondary schools, had yet provided opportunities for the able child from humble circumstances to proceed beyond the confines of the primary route. By adding extra voluntary years to the primary school (e.g. the *cours complémentaires* in France) or by organising distinct "intermediate" schools (e.g. the Austrian *Hauptschule*, the *Mittel* - or *Realschule* in some States of the Federal Republic of Germany, the "central" schools in England, the higher primary schools (*u.l.o.* and *m.v.l.o.*) in the Netherlands), a flow of recruits to the middle ranks of the professions

and public services had long been secured. Their curricula had reached beyond the traditional primary regime of instruction in the mother tongue, arithmetic, national history and such other subjects as were considered useful for the future worker, to embrace studies which often paralleled those of the first years of the long secondary course. A variety of forms of lower vocational and technical schooling had also been evolved as explicit alternatives, or complements to the upper stages of primary education (e.g. the secondary technical school in England, the *scuola d'avviamento professionale* in Italy, the *lagere technische* school in the Netherlands, and the *écoles d'enseignement professionel* in Belgium) whose task was to prepare their pupils for apprenticeship or entry into similar forms of skilled industrial or commercial employment.

Even with these "intermediate" modifications, however, such a structure was seen to be increasingly inadequate to provide a full range of educational opportunity for all children to develop their talents.

This situation produced two broad categories of response :

(*a*) The retention of a hierarchy of parallel but separate types of post-elementary education, with improved possibilities for transfer between them in the light of the pupil's emergent abilities and aptitudes, (e.g. the reformed post-primary structures in Belgium and the Netherlands).

(*b*) The construction of a *comprehensive* or unified lower secondary school intended to provide for all, or the great majority of children in the lower secondary age group in one institution or under one roof (e.g. the "unitary" school in Sweden, the middle school in Italy, the college of secondary education in France).

(iii) *The guidance period*

An important aim of these reforms was progressively to reduce premature selection and specialisation. Post-war psycho-pedagogical research had indicated that the age of 10 to 12 was too early for children to be allocated to different school routes which, in practice, narrowly restricted their future choice of educational and vocational opportunity at a time when their interests and aptitudes were by no means fully apparent. On social grounds this selection was criticised because of its tendency to reflect and perpetuate the class divisions of society by allowing few effective chances of subsequent transfer, and therefore permitting the waste of the emergent talents of many children. On economic grounds, it was felt that vocational specialisation on a rudimentary basis of elementary education was altogether premature and unlikely to produce the better educated labour force demanded by post-war technological change.

Increasingly, therefore, post-primary and lower secondary education was seen as a period of diagnosis and guidance and less as a terminal prelude to entry into employment [1]. The lengthening of the post-elementary school period made it increasingly possible to realise this changed conception by giving more time for talents to develop and for aspirations to change.

(iv) *The increased size of schools*

The higher proportion of children enrolled in post-primary or lower secondary education, the lengthening of school life, and the need to broaden the range of educational opportunities available to each child all pointed in the direction of larger school units. The typical pre-war primary school served all but a small minority of the children of its neighbourhood for the duration of their compulsory schooling. In the rural areas this meant that the post-11 age group were often in small, undifferentiated units, offering severely limited accommodation, equipment and specialist teaching. Schools in urban areas, though serving greater concentrations of school population, were still geared to providing the restricted subject range of the traditional primary curriculum. The co-existence of State and denominational schools was also a source of fragmentation in countries or areas of mixed religion.

The pace at which these larger schools came into being varied from country to country according to their need to build new, or to replace existing, schools, the nature of the reforms of their post-primary school systems, and the demand for school places arising from higher birthrates and the extension of schooling to a higher proportion of young people for a longer period.

1. For further details see Y. Roger, *The Observation and Guidance Period*, Strasbourg 1967 (Education in Europe Series, No. 7).

The trend towards larger units has been most marked in those countries which have chosen some form of common school for all or the great majority of children at the lower secondary stage (e.g. the unitary school in Scandinavia, the comprehensive school in certain areas of England and Wales, the middle school in Italy, and the college of secondary education in France). Though less marked in countries which have retained a modified system of parallel routes (e.g. the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands), the trend is nevertheless apparent, especially where formerly separate routes have been combined in one school. In many rural areas of Europe, moreover, the small village, parochial or communal school, is progressively being replaced by the larger centralised institution drawing its pupils from a much larger catchment area.

2. *Some consequences for continued education*

(i) *New pupils, new needs*

These developments have brought longer schooling to a much wider and more representative cross section of young people than ever before. Compared with their predecessors, they are older, physically more mature and likely to have more adult attitudes and expectations. Among the newcomers, there will almost inevitably be a very wide range of social background, ability, attainment, motivation and attitudes to schooling. The higher the proportion of the age group brought into longer schooling (the whole, where extension is compulsory), the heavier will be the incidence of less gifted pupils and of those less immediately capable, for a variety of reasons, of profiting from a longer education conceived on traditional lines. Many of these will be the subjects of continued education.

(ii) *Types of establishment providing for continued education*

As a result of the post-war reforms of school structures, considerable changes have come about, and are still occurring, in the environment in which these continued education pupils spend their final year of compulsory full time schooling.

In the report of the Austrian Ministry of Education to the Fifth Conference of European Ministers of Education (Vienna 1965), two broad categories of establishment intended to provide for continued education pupils in their last years of full time schooling were distinguished :

(a) *Homogeneous (or uniform) classes or schools*

These are separate classes or schools specifically designed for pupils in their last years of compulsory schooling, and intended to be an immediate preliminary to entry into full time employment. They tend to offer a broadly uniform curriculum, based on the estimated common needs of this category of pupil. Little or no choice of subjects is possible and, since pupils are supposed to be broadly similar in ability, there is no "streaming".

(b) *Heterogeneous (or multilateral) classes or schools*

Here there are no separate classes or schools specially created for continued education pupils, since the organisation of lower secondary education is designed to channel all pupils into streams or courses according to their abilities and aptitudes. This kind of secondary education can be obtained in one and the same institution (a multilateral, unitary or comprehensive school), where pupils follow a more or less common curriculum for the early part of the lower secondary stage ; it can also be provided in different institutions which have a broadly common curriculum for the first and, in some cases, for one or two subsequent years. Although the various courses or lines of study differ in subject content and level of subject matter, the intention is to leave the pupil with as wide a choice as possible for as long as possible, and to facilitate transfer between courses or lines.

Table II, based on these categories, amplified and modified to take account of developments since 1965, summarises the variety of school situations in which continued education pupils may find themselves.

Useful as the structural distinction between types (*a*) and (*b*) may be, its importance in determining the situation which the pupil actually faces in the classroom can easily be over-stressed. Schools of type (*a*) are, it is true, "residual" in the sense that they cater for those pupils who remain when others of higher ability or attainment in the same age group have already entered or

transferred to other schools. The fact that they are, in this sense, the "left-overs" may well have important effects on pupils' and teachers' morale, and on society's attitudes to this type of schooling. These, in turn, may be counterbalanced by the fact that, having a relatively homogeneous group of pupils to cater for, both the school authorities and the teachers can provide more specifically and single mindedly for their needs than if they were in an institution of type (*b*) with a range of curriculum and teaching which is necessarily wider because it must cater for a greater diversity of aims, abilities and interests.

It may be contended, however, that the homogeneity of pupils in type (*a*) derives more from their location in the school system than from their real needs as young people. Even a "residual" group may contain a diversity of abilities, aptitudes and stages of physical and mental maturity which ought to be matched by a variety of subjects and methods of teaching. Even within schools of type (*b*), it is possible to find "residual" groups, with an equally wide range of potential talent who have nevertheless chosen to quit school at the earliest possible moment for the economic and social reasons referred to in Part I. In practice, their status within the school may well differ very little from their peers in type (*a*), while the curriculum prescribed for them may be equally inflexible especially in its concluding stages. Where they are housed, as they still are in some school systems of type (*b*), in separate buildings and taught by a separate body of teachers, the practical difference in the nature of the education they receive may well be clearer in structural terms than it is in reality. While the pupil of modest social origins but with good potential can often have a wider range of opportunity for improvement and transfer in type (*b*) schools, than would be open to him in type (*a*), the needs of the less able and socially handicapped pupil, on the other hand, may be less well served in a more heterogeneous institution unless they are given the same degree of priority and attention as they receive in a separate institution of type (*a*).

An important driving force behind the reform of European school systems has been the need to open the doors of secondary education to a wider proportion of each nation's children in order to meet the economy's demands for a more highly educated, qualified and skilled labour force. The resources of hitherto underprivileged talent awaiting these opportunities have already been demonstrated by the increasing flow of pupils into lower secondary education who have not only faced up to the demands made upon them but have also successfully surmounted the traditional examination hurdles on the way to upper secondary and higher education. Schools and teachers accustomed to a smaller and more favourably conditioned clientele have, though not without difficulty, accommodated their traditional curricula and methods to this broader band of relatively able recruits. It is understandable that both they and the society which sustains them have, in part at least, judged their achievements in terms of their pupils' success in courses and examinations qualifying them for entry into higher education and to the professions.

The concern of successive Conferences of European Ministers of Education with the ability of school systems to meet, with equal success, the needs of those young people which could not so readily be served by admitting them to the traditional regimes of secondary education, has underlined the problem of what the Newson Report [1] called "the other half". Those pupils, it was appreciated, faced secondary education with considerable and often unfamiliar problems. And yet, if only on the grounds of economic and social progress, any reform of secondary education would be incomplete if it failed to give due — many would say equal — attention to these problems.

As the Table and the descriptive Appendix to Part II show, member countries have certainly been aware of the special needs of the continued education pupil, and are in process of endeavouring to meet them in ways which are inevitably as diverse as their economic resources, their social and educational philosophies, their school structures, and their existing stock of buildings and teachers. Some have chosen to set up classes or institutions of a new type within the framework of their traditional school systems, while others, in re-shaping their secondary school systems, have, in varying degrees, endeavoured to integrate the education of these pupils with that of the lower secondary age group as a whole.

Yet, as the conclusions reached by the Interlaken Seminar demonstrated, the needs of the continued education pupil transcend this structural diversity, important as it may be in determining how these needs are met. What matters for the pupil is the sort of programme which his school has to offer, the way in which it is taught, and its relevance to his abilities and aspirations. It is to these questions which, following the example of the delegates at Interlaken, we shall now turn.

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1. Op. cit.

TABLE I

Duration of cumpulsory schooling in 1968, and planned extensions

General remarks: Compulsory schooling for less than eight years is now exceptional in Europe. A nine-year compulsory period for all children is already a reality in some countries and is either envisaged for the near future or has been agreed in principle in most others. Voluntary extension for a 9th or 10th year is atively encouraged in some countries; in the United Kingdom there is a compulsory ten-year period from the age of five.

Country	Duration of compulsory schooling for 1968	Extension of compulsory schooling	Non-compulsory schooling
Austria	9 years (6 to 15)		
Belgium	8 years (6 to 14)	To 9 and ultimately 10 years envisaged by the Education Act of 1964	Over 80 % complete a voluntary 9th year
Denmark	7 years (7 to 14)	Extension to 9 years being planned	Municipalities are required to provide a voluntary 8th year when more than 10 pupils apply for it. Approximately 90 % of children complete an 8th year
France	10 years (6 to 16)	It is envisaged that the Decree of 6 January 1959 which provided for the introduction of a 10-year period as from 1 January 1967 will be fully implemented by 1972	
Federal Republic of Germany	9 years (6 to 15) in 10 of the 11 States + 3 years part-time	To 9 years in the 11th State in 1968-69	
Greece	6 years (6 to 12)	The 1964 Act envisaged progressive extension to 8 years (6-14)	
Iceland	8 years (7 to 15)		
Ireland	8 years (6 to 14)	It is intended to extend the compulsory period to 9 years (6 to 15) in 1970	Full-time attendance by ( ) % of all children between 14 and 15 and by ( ) % of children between 15 and 16 years of age
Italy	8 years (6 to 14)	The Italian Constitution (27 January 1947) provides for the extension of compulsory schooling beyond 14 years of age	
Luxembourg	9 years + 2 years part-time		
Netherlands	8 years (6 or 7 to 14 or 15)	The Bill of February 1967 envisages extension to 9 years	Voluntary extension encouraged for a 9th year
Norway	9 years (7 to 16) in municipalities covering over half the population. 7 or 8 years in the remainder	Compulsory education to be extended to 9 years for the whole country by 1972	A 10th voluntary year may be added
Spain	8 years (6 to 14)		
Sweden	9 years (7 to 16)		Particular efforts are made to encourage voluntary continuation of studies at upper secondary, continuation schools, and technical and vocational training establishments
Switzerland	7 to 9 years (6 or 7 to 14 or 16), ending at 15 in most cantons	A general trend towards extension to 8 or 9 years	
Turkey	8 years (6 to 14) with a minimum of 5 years.		Elementary and continuation courses may be attended voluntarily after the terminal age of compulsory schooling
United Kingdom	10 years (5 to 15) since 1947	To be extended to 11 years (5 to 16) in 1971-72	Voluntary extension to at least 16 is encouraged. 30 % of the age-group do so

TABLE II

Country	Type (*a*) Homogeneous (uniform) classes or schools	Type (*b*) Heterogeneous or multilateral classes or schools
Austria	The Polytechnic Year (9th) for those pupils not continuing their secondary or vocational education.	
Belgium		Pupils complete compulsory schooling in either (i) an intermediate school, or (ii) a technical or vocational school. Voluntary extension possible and encouraged.
Denmark		Pupils complete compulsory schooling (7th year) in the common main school (*Folkeskole*), which may or may not be divided into general or vocational sections. Voluntary extension for 8th, 9th and 10th years possible and encouraged.
France		Pupils complete compulsory schooling in either : (i) the general secondary section, or (ii) the terminal practical section } of the lower secondary stage. (iii) may form part of a multilateral College of Secondary Education or be annexed to a College of Technical Education, a College of General Education or, rarely, a Grammar School. Until 1972, it may take the form of part-time attendance (2 days per week) education and training plus practical experience of employment.
Federal Republic of Germany	The majority of pupils complete compulsory schooling in the 9th year of the senior main school (*Hauptschule*), which caters for children who have not transferred to the grammar school or to intermediate secondary school (*Realschule*).	In some States (e.g. Hesse) the main and intermediate schools are unified. Comprehensive schools established in West Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg and Hesse.
Greece	Pupils complete compulsory schooling in the 6th year of elementary schools.	
Ireland	Pupils who do not transfer at age 12 to general secondary schools or at 13 to secondary vocational schools remain in primary schools, or in the "secondary tops" of primary schools.	Voluntary extension into the second (9th) year of the secondary vocational school course encouraged. Technical and continuation education provided in this type of school.
Italy		Pupils complete compulsory schooling (8th year) in the 3rd year of the common middle school (*scuola media*).
Luxembourg	Pupils who do not proceed at age 12 to general secondary education, or at age 13 to vocational education, remain in primary school continuation classes (*classes complémentaires*).	
Netherlands	Pupils of least ability proceed at age 12 + to individual vocational education (*i. t. o.*), which may be organised in separate schools. Voluntary extension possible and encouraged.	Pupils complete compulsory schooling (8th year) in either : (i) elementary general post-primary education (*l. a. v. o.*). (ii) elementary vocational education (*l. b. o.*). (i) and (ii) may be located in schools providing other levels of post-primary and technical education. Voluntary extension possible and encouraged.

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Country	Type (*a*) Homogeneous (uniform) classes or schools	Type (*b*) Heterogeneous or multilateral classes or schools
Norway		The majority of pupils complete compulsory schooling (9 years) in the common (comprehensive) lower secondary school where 9 years is not yet compulsory, the 7th year of the common primary school *(folkeskole)* may be followed by compulsory or voluntary attendance at a continuation school *(framhaldskole)* on a full-time or part-time basis. Voluntary extension encouraged.
Sweden		Pupils complete compulsory schooling (9 years) in the common (comprehensive) school.
Switzerland	Pupils complete compulsory schooling at age 14 or 15, according to their canton. The principal forms of continued education, all within the primary sector, are : (i) Pre-apprenticeship classes (i. e. primary classes strongly directed towards manual occupations) ; (ii) Higher division of the primary school ; three sections catering for the varying intellectual abilities and vocational preferences of the pupils ; (iii) Terminal primary classes with two sections : preparation for rural work, and simple trades.	Developing in Geneva, Basle-Urban, Neuchâtel, by the establishment of larger schools catering for a wider range of ability, the institution of a guidance period, and facilitating transfer from one section or course to another.
United Kingdom		Pupils complete their compulsory schooling (10th year) at the end of the second or third term of the school year in which they reach age 15. All are in secondary schools of various types, the majority of which, though not containing the whole range of ability, provide some differentiation of curricula in the final compulsory years, and the possibility of transfer to longer courses. Voluntary extension is possible and encouraged. The general trend, especially since 1965, is towards the establishment of more comprehensive (i.e. multilateral or bilateral) schools.

Chapter 2

PUPILS AND AIMS

1. *Some characteristics of continued education pupils*

Before trying to formulate the aims of curricula designed to cater for "young people who have completed or are about to complete compulsory education but do not stay on for further full-time education", it is illuminating to quote from the inquiries which some countries have undertaken into the educational needs of these pupils.

A Scottish report [1] offered the following diagnosis :

"Over the country as a whole, some 35 % of the boys and girls in an age group are transferred to courses of secondary education leading to presentation of either the Ordinary or the Higher grade of the Scottish Certificate of Education. Our interest lies mainly therefore with the boys and girls who comprise the remaining 65 % of the age group. This section of the age group includes young people who are above average in ability and are capable of considerable intellectual effort and of substantial attainment in a fairly wide field. It also includes boys and girls whose abilities will enable them to make only limited progress in a very restricted field which is closely related to practical pursuits. Between these two extremes, there is a large number of boys and girls who have the capacity to make good progress in suitably designed courses in schools and, later, to acquire a high level of skill and an understanding of the practical techniques of industry and commerce."

About the same young people, a report from England [2] noted that although they include some pupils of above average ability capable of doing work similar to that done by many pupils in a grammar school, "there will be a second group, generally much larger, who represent the 'average' boys and girls of their age ; and a third, usually smaller, group of those who have considerably more difficulty in remembering and applying what they learn, and who certainly work more slowly. Finally (there is) a fourth group of really backward pupils who have to struggle to attain an elementary mastery of reading, writing and calculation. No description of the size of these various groups will be accurate for all schools, but however uncertain the frontiers, all these territories have to be included in the educational map."

The Scottish study adds "The educational background of these boys and girls when they enter the secondary school is often not conducive to success... Some of them, because their experience in the primary school has been largely one of failure, have given up the effort to succeed, and a few may be passively or actively antagonistic to the discipline and work of the school. Nevertheless, with the resilience of their age, they are prepared to start anew in the secondary school and to respond with enthusiasm and renowed effort to the teacher who offers them success, even on a modest scale. As a general rule they are not interested in academic learning and prefer physical activity to thinking ; their mental activity is stimulated by real things and happenings in the physical world rather than by ideas and concepts. Though generalisations appeal less readily to them than to their abler fellows, they have nevertheless some ability to generalise from particular illustrations. The less their ability, the less well do they meet demands for sustained effort ; they respond best to tasks which yield quick results and most of them do not look far ahead. Generally, too, the less their ability, the less self-sufficient do they feel and the more dependent they are on the companionship and good opinion of their fellows. They like best to work in small groups or teams. As the time for leaving school draws nearer, most of them, though no long-term vocational desire may yet have matured, begin to look outwards from school to the excitements soon to be met in the adult world of work. They regard with new interest their friends who not so long ago left school and who now seem to find a much freer life with much more money to spend. It is perhaps not surprising that to many of the pupils, school, especially if they have as yet achieved little joy or success in it, becomes positively irksome."

These descriptions, drawn from and necessarily specific to their country of origin, cannot cover the whole spectrum of continued education pupils in Western Europe. From the substantial

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1. *From School to Further Education*, Scottish Education Department, H.M.S.O. (Edinburgh) 1963, page 9.
2. Newsom Report, op. cit.

consensus of views on the aims of continued education which emerged from the Interlaken Seminar, it would appear nevertheless that young people of this type were to be found in many member countries, and that they had certain educational needs in common.

2. *The aims of continued education*

In the final report of the Seminar, the following aims were distinguished :

"(*a*) to arouse the curiosity and interest of the pupils in such a way as to lead them to continue their education and training as men and citizens ;

(*b*) to consolidate, supplement and extend their general education without any restriction of standard other than the pupils' ability, thus encouraging their transfer to other forms of education ;

(*c*) to give them an opportunity for developing personality and a sense of responsibility so as to produce balanced adults aware of their capacities and of their limitations ;

(*d*) to prepare pupils by varied practical work for their subsequent vocational training, thus facilitating their entry into working life ;

(*e*) to encourage the development of aptitudes for self-education, and to prepare pupils... for a proper use of leisure."

To what extent are these aims being realised in the programmes devised by member countries for this diverse group of pupils ? The term "programmes" is used rather than "curricula", because it is particularly important, in this type of education, to see it "in the round", which implies an appreciation of its avowed objectives, the relationships between the constituent subjects or sectors of the curriculum, the methods of teaching and the extension of the educative process beyond the walls of the school. In other sectors of education, it may well be useful and appropriate to draw up a comparative table of curricular subjects and the times allotted to them. But so diverse are the forms of continued education and the situations in which it is provided, that such a tabulation could well fail to do justice to the variety of experiment and development currently in progress. Instead, there follows a descriptive summary of the programme provided by each member country for its continued education pupils, set against a necessarily brief account of its system of secondary education. In a period of rapid development, it must inevitably offer a mixture of present practice and future intention. It does, however, reveal that, amid much fruitful diversity of thought, policy and practice, there are substantial areas of experience which are shared by all member countries. It will be the purpose of the concluding Chapter 3 to attempt to discern and to illustrate the significant trends.

3. *Summary of provisions in member States*

Austria

The School Organisation Act of 1962 made school attendance compulsory for 9 years (i.e. between age 6 and age 15).

After four years (6-10) in the elementary school *(Volksschule)*, pupils transfer to one of the following :

(*a*) Grammar School *(Gymnasium* or *Realgymnasium)* ;

(*b*) Senior elementary school *(Hauptschule)* ;

(*c*) Senior department of the elementary school *(Volksschule Oberstufe)*.

At the end of their 8th year, pupils from types (*b*) and (*c*) who are not proceeding either to intermediate or upper secondary education (general or vocational) or to other forms of full-time education, complete their period of compulsory schooling with a one-year Polytechnic course.

The Polytechnic course

Since this was an innovation introduced by the 1962 Act, it did not come into full operation until the school year 1966-67, when 1,113 classes were opened for 31,040 pupils (34 % of all 14-year olds). In some cases, they are organised as separate institutions, while others are attached to senior elementary special *(Sonderschulen)* or vocational schools *(Berufsschulen)*. The recommended number of pupils per class is 30 (with a maximum of 36). There are generally separate courses for boys and girls, although where numbers are small joint courses are instituted,

with separate tuition in some subjects. Wherever possible instruction is given by teachers specialised in the subjects concerned who are qualified as elementary or vocational teachers and who may have attended the special courses of further training in Pedagogical Institutes.

The aim of the Polytechnic course is to consolidate the pupils' basic general education, with special emphasis on their life and future occupations; for girls, special emphasis is placed on improving their proficiency in domestic science. Those pupils who have not yet chosen a specific vocation are prepared for the choice by suitable vocational guidance.

Polytechnic course: weekly subject and time-allocation

Subject	Time-allocation	
	Boys	Girls
Compulsory subjects		
Religion	2	2
Social and personal education (with special emphasis on the use of leisure)	2-3	2-3
Mother tongue	6	6
Mathematics	6	6
Social and economic studies	2-3	2-3
Scientific basis of the modern economy	2-3	2-3
Technical drawing	2	1
Health education	1	1
Vocational information and guidance	2-3	2-3
Handicraft	2-4	2
Domestic science and child care		4
Physical education	3	3
	33	35
Optional subjects		
Shorthand	2	2
Typewriting	2	2
Foreign language	3	3
Other non-compulsory activities		
Choral music	2	2
Instrumental music	2	2
Physical education	2	2
Art and craft	2	2

This programme of study, and the accompanying notes for guidance on the approach to its constituent subjects [1], show a number of significant features. Mother tongue and mathematics occupy over one third of the time given to compulsory subjects, with a clear emphasis on the consolidation and improvement of these basic skills. In its other main areas, the curriculum is notable for its immediacy and relevance to the pupil as an emergent adult worker and citizen. Religious, social and personal education deal directly with the problems of living with other people, with one's family, with the opposite sex and in the local and wider community. The elements of science are approached through their application to the servicing of the household (gas, water, electricity) and to food and clothing. Physical education is seen as a means of introducing pupils to the widening range of recreational activities which will be open to them in adult life. The theme of interdependence informs the social and economic studies which also include 20th-century history. These studies form a background to the vocational information and guidance in which visits to a wide variety of industrial, commercial and service establishments are seen as a central feature, supplemented by films and television broadcasts to introduce pupils to occupations which are not represented in their home region.

Belgium

Compulsory schooling lasts for eight years, from age six to age fourteen. At the time of writing, the extension first to nine and ultimately to ten years envisaged by the Law of 1964 had not been made compulsory. It should be pointed out that a high proportion of children (over 80 %) stay on voluntarily to complete a ninth year.

1. Regulation 174, 17 August 1966, Ministry of Education, Vienna.

Having completed six years of elementary education, pupils may pass to one of the following types of school :

(*a*) A grammar school (*athenée, lycée or collège*) ;

(*b*) An intermediate secondary school (*école moyenne*) ;

(*c*) A technical or vocational school (*école technique* or *école professionnelle*).

Type (*d*), a relic of the old terminal elementary system, is rapidly going out of existance, being attended by less than 5 % of the 12-14 age group. Its curricula are being re-modelled on the lines of those provided in the lower sections of the technical schools, to which pupils are encouraged to transfer when they reach the compulsory age-limit.

The pupils' choice of post-elementary school is much influenced by the wishes of their parents, with guidance from the elementary school teachers. Post-war reforms and development have tended to diminish the "finality" of this choice, and to defer it until the pupil has completed the lower secondary stage at age fifteen or later. An increasing number of multilateral intermediate schools have come into being, offering several types of education under the same roof. The concurrent trend towards establishing a curriculum with substantial elements common to types (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) has been a further factor making for ease of transfer from one to the other, the reduction of "dead-ends" and the postponement of final choice.

In this situation where :

(*a*) a nine-year period of schooling, while not compulsory, is the norm for the majority of pupils ;

(*b*) substantial progress has been made towards the establishment of a three-year (12-15) curricular prescription which is common to both the intermediate secondary and the technical and vocational schools, it is difficult to identify a "continued education" sector with any precision.

Nevertheless, lower technical and vocational education has long been popular with working-class parents and many are continuing to seek it for their children. In some areas, it will be available at a new multilateral intermediate school, which may be a new foundation, or have developed from a former academic or intermediate school, or from a former lower technical or vocational school. In other areas, it will be provided by a technical or vocational school. Some account of the curricula arrangements at both types is therefore necessary.

I. *The multilateral intermediate school*

A pupil entering at age twelve has a weekly timetable of 36 × 50 minute periods of which :

(*a*) 30 are spent on a core curriculum which is common to all pupils in the first two years, and 25 in the third and second years ;

(*b*) 6 are devoted in the first year to one of three optional courses, and 11 periods in the third.

Common core curriculum and weekly time-allocation

Subject	No. of periods	
	2nd Year	3rd Year
Religious or moral education	2	2
Mother tongue	5	5
Second national language	4	4
History	2	2
Geography	2	1
Mathematics	4	4
Biology	1	1
Physics	1	1
Chemistry	—	1
Physical education	2	2
Musical education	1	—
Artistic education	2	—
Technical education	4	2
Total	30	25

Of the three options, classical, modern and technical, only the last-named is selected for tabulation. In brief, the classical option consists of Latin in the first two years, adding Greek and a modern language in the third. The modern option concentrates on modern languages or science in the second year, with one or other being emphasised in the third year, where some pupils may also opt for a combination of the two, or for typewriting and introductory economics.

The technical option is subdivided into A and B, which are respectively, though not exclusively, designed for girls and boys. Each of these is again subdivided into broad trade groups from the first year onwards, with the subdivisions becoming progressively more numerous in the second and third years. Where the 3-year observation and guidance cycle is provided in a former technical school, the third year of options A and B may be replaced by the corresponding year of the vocational courses traditional to this type of school. In these, the vocational orientation is more marked, with extra time allocated to job-related practical work, associated scientific and technical studies, and preparation for working life (workshop organisation, industrial health and safety etc.).

Similarly, an intermediate school with a guidance cycle is allowed to offer the traditional vocational courses from the second or third year onwards, provided that these are not available at a nearby State school.

Technical option A: Curriculum and weekly time-allocation

Second year

Subject	Groups (No. of periods)			
	Dress	Domestic education	Decorative arts	Other techniques
Artistic education	1	1	3	1
Domestic science	1	3	1	1
Dress	3	1	1	—
Other techniques	—	—	—	3
Complementary studies	1	1	1	—
Overall Total	36	36	36	36

Third year

Artistic education	2	2	6	—
Technical drawing	—	—	—	2
Scientific drawing	—	—	1	—
Domestic science	2	5	2	2
Dress	5	2	—	—
Other techniques	—	—	—	5
Education for family life	1	1	1	1
Complementary studies	1	1	1	1
Overall Total	36	36	36	36

Technical Option B

Second year

	Metal	Wood	Agriculture	Other techniques
Technical drawing and artistic education	3	3	1	1 or 2
Technology	2	2	2	2
Applied sciences	—	—	2	2 or 1
Complementary studies	1	1	1	1
Overall Total	36	36	36	36

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Third year

	Mechanical	Electrical	Wood	Agriculture	Other techniques
Technical drawing	4	3	4	1	
Technology	2	2	2	2	
Mechanics	1	1	1	—	to be decided in each case
Electricity	1	3	1	—	
Practical work	3	2	3	4	
Applied science	—	—	—	3	
Rural economy	—	—	—	1	
Overall Total	36	36	36	36	

II. *The technical and vocational schools*

About 40 % of the 12-16 age group attend schools of this type. The vocational schools in particular cater for those who intend to enter skilled or semi-skilled employment. They derive mainly from religious bodies or from associations of industrialists and receive substantial support from public funds.

They offer four-year courses, the first two years being regarded as a guidance period, and the last two as the equivalent of the first stages of apprenticeship. Courses leading to a wide range of trades are available for both boys and girls, though the choice of any individual pupil may, in practice, be limited to what is offered by the schools in their locality. There are opportunities for the ablest boys and girls to pass on to upper technical education, lasting until 18, and about 20 % do so.

The curricula and timetables of these courses follow a common basic plan which is illustrated by the two following examples :

Mechanics

	Weekly periods			
Year	I	II	III	IV
Normal Age	12	13	14	15
1. *General subjects*				
Religious or moral education (including family ethics, and social and civic education)	2	2	2	2
Mother tongue	5	4	2	2
Second national language	2	—	—	—
Current affairs (including history and geography)	2	2	1	1
Mathematics	5	4	2	2
Science	2	2	1	—
Physical education	2	2	2	2
Artistic education (including drawing and modelling)	2	—	—	—
Music education	1	1	1	1
Total	23	17	11	10
2. *Technical subjects*				
Technical drawing	2	4	4	4
Applied science (including study of tools and materials, technology, mechanics and electricity)	2	2	3	3
Education for working life (methods of work, workshop organisation, planning, industrial hygiene, factory legislation)	—	2	2	3
Total	4	8	9	10
3. *Vocational practice*				
Manual training	9	15		
Craft practice			20	20
Total	9	15	20	20
Combined Total	36	40	40	40

Dressmaking

	Weekly periods			
Year	I	II	III	IV
Normal Age	12	13	14	15
1. *General subjects*				
Religious or moral education (including family ethics, social and civic education)	2	2	2	2
Mother tongue	6	5	3	2
Second national language	3	—	—	—
Current affairs (including history and geography)	3	1	1	1
Mathematics	4	2	2	1
Science	2	2	—	—
Physical education	2	2	2	2
Musical education	1	1	1	1
Artistic education	4	4	3	2
Total	27	19	14	11
2. *Technical subjects*				
Education for family life (including good manners, hygiene and child care)	1	1	2	2
Applied science (useful technical knowledge, elements of mechanics and electricity)	—	1	1	1
Education for working life (including information about local employment, workshop organisation and accounts)	—	—	—	1
Total	1	2	3	4
3. *Vocational theory and practice*				
Housecraft (cookery, housekeeping)	4	7	3	3
Pre-apprenticeship training	4	12	—	—
Craft practice	—	—	20	20
Total	8	19	23	23
Combined Total	36	40	40	38

Denmark

At school

Education in Denmark is compulsory from the beginning of the school year following the child's 7th birthday until the end of the school year in which he reaches 14. The vast majority of children spent their 7-year compulsory period in a main school (*folkeskole*) which provides both the primary and lower secondary stages in the same building under one head and with a staff common to both departments.

Recent years have seen a rapid increase in the proportion of pupils remaining voluntarily at school for an 8th, 9th and 10th year. As many as 90 % complete an 8th and 80 % a 9th year. Every local authority is obliged to provide an 8th year if a minimum of 10 pupils ask for it. If the authority has not set up an 8th, 9th or 10th year, it must bear the cost of tuition and school material for those children living in its area attending such classes in another authority's area.

At the end of class 5 of the main school, the pupils may or may not be divided into 2 sections, or "lines". If divided, they enter either

— line (*a*) mainly intended for pupils intending to pass on to classes 8, 9 or 10,

— line (*b*) (sometimes called the *real* line) mainly preparing for upper academic secondary education.

Not all schools make this division, but have a line (*c*) common to all pupils (the choice is as often dictated by educational philosophy as by reasons of size and resources).

For the purposes of this study, therefore, "continued education" pupils comprise both the 10 % who leave full-time schooling at the end of their 7th year, and those who stay on voluntarily

for an 8th, 9th or 10th year in line (*a*) or in line (*c*). It should be pointed out, however, that these voluntary extension years need not necessarily be spent in the main school. As will be seen later, substantial numbers of pupils choose the alternative offered by the full-time courses at the residential continuation school (*efterskoler*, or youth high school).

1. *Curriculum and timetable for Class 7 (line* (a)*) in Copenhagen* folkeskolen

The school week consists of from 34 or 35 50-minute periods. 26 of these are devoted to a core of subjects common to both boys and girls ; and include Danish (5), arithmetic (5), religious instruction (1), history (2), geography (2), biology (2), physics (2), English (3), physical education (2), music (1), and art (1). A further 5 periods are given to needlework and domestic sciences for girls, and 4 to handicraft and additional physical education for boys. In addition there are 4 periods of options, including extra periods of core subjects, and vocational guidance for those intending to leave at the end of the year.

There have been recent signs of a move towards the postponement of separation into "lines" until after the 7th year, and to replace it by a form "setting". Pupils who would formerly have been segregated into a non-academic line from the 5th year onwards can join the more academic "sets" for their good subjects, which they can then offer in the academic (*real*) leaving examination at the end of the 9th year.

2. *Curriculum and weekly time-allocation for the voluntary 8th, 9th and 10th years (Copenhagen* folkeskolen) *line* (a) *(practical bias)*

(*a*) In all three years, 20 of the 35 weekly periods are allocated to the common compulsory core of mother tongue, arithmetic, religious education, social and environmental studies, and physical education.

(*b*) Pupils then choose one of three groups of subjects (8 periods for each group) which add a pre-vocational element to their studies. Group 1 consists of English, accounts and typewriting ; Group 2 of physics, geometrical drawing and mathematics ; Group 3 offers practical work in wood or metal, or in domestic science or needlework, together with related theory, plus either art or the study of motor vehicles.

(*c*) For their remaining 4 periods, pupils may choose one or two subjects from a fairly long list of options. This enables them to have extra lessons in subjects which they are already studying in (*a*) or (*b*), a second foreign language, or a greater variety of cultural and hobby subjects. Schools are left free to add this list of options as the interests of the pupils and their staff allow. Thus the Voldparken school, in a northern suburb of Copenhagen, offers child care, drama, "teenage" (fashion, beauty culture, personal relations etc.), film appreciation, tourist English and tourist German.

The aim of this course is to improve pupils' general knowledge and to give them a realistic introduction to life after school. It gives scope for the exercise of their vocational preferences, while a period of one or two weeks actual "practice in the trade", with related preparation and follow-up in school and visits to other undertakings gives them a foretaste of what going to work is like.

3. *The Rodøvre experimental centre*

As in other countries, the extension of school life in Denmark, albeit on a voluntary basis, has led to experiments in broadening the curriculum of the lower secondary stage so as to make it a more effective preparation for adult life. An Act of 1964 authorised the Ministry of Education to set up an experimental centre, and one is being developed on an 11-acre site at Rodøvre in a suburb of Copenhagen.

Among its objectives are :

(*a*) to try out the curricula for the voluntary 8th, 9th and 10th years suggested in the Ministry's official guide, and to pioneer their further development ;

(*b*) to develop an information and guidance service on this phase of education ;

(*c*) to provide in-service training courses for teachers. The setting in which these objectives are to be pursued is unusually interesting. A "Youth Town" is being built which will, when complete, be a microcosm of an adult community. It already has its own town hall, church, insurance office,

bank, super-market and petrol station. The last four have been devised with the close co-operation and help of industry and commerce, and the design, construction and decoration have been carried out by students from the relevant vocational schools in Copenhagen. The bank and the insurance buildings are ingeniously dual-purpose, consisting in part of an actual branch of a bank and a local insurance office, in which real transactions can be carried out, and in part of an associated classroom for observation, instruction and follow-up for groups of teachers or children, in which employees of the firms concerned take part.

Also on the campus are a newly-built experimental school, practical workshops for wood, metal, engine repairs and construction, and laboratories and greenhouses for agriculture and horticulture, together with residential and cafeteria accommodation for 240 pupils, and for teachers attending training courses. With the continuing co-operation of industry and commerce, further additions to the "Town's" economic complex (e.g. a post office) are being planned to provide as broad a range of real-life experience and vocational stimulus as possible.

Though not complete, the Centre is already used by groups of pupils from the 8th, 9th and 10th years, and from the academic line in neighbouring schools. With their help, sets of teaching materials are being produced, again with the co-operation of firms, which, together with guide curricula, will be sent out to the schools to aid them in preparing pupils for a visit to the Centre. It is envisaged that 4,000 pupils per year, with groups drawn from all over Denmark, will come, with their teachers, for two-week courses. The pupils will live in family groups of 4, each of which will be given a sum of money, to keep itself for the duration of the visit. Each will be responsible for feeding itself (either at the cafeteria or by doing some of its own cooking) and for doing its own budgeting and housekeeping. Taxes will be levied by the elected pupils' council for communal activities such as dances and theatre visits. The opportunities for social, economic and civic training education in a realistic and democratic setting should be unusually varied and exciting.

Much of the actual teaching will be done by the specialist staff of the Centre, which, in addition to trained teachers, will include others with commercial and industrial experience as well as employees of firms (e.g. the bank, the insurance company and the super-market) represented in the town.

The teachers accompanying the parties of pupils will spend the fortnight in an in-service training course of observation, discussion and following a programme of induction to the world of industry and commerce.

Residential continuation schools (efterskolen)

These offer an unusual opportunity for the 7th-year leaver who nevertheless wishes to continue with a form of full-time schooling. Their alternative title of "Youth Folk High Schools" rightly indicates that they draw their inspiration from Grundtwig, Kold and the other pioneers of the Folk High School movement. Nearly all are private foundations, grant-aided by the Ministry of Education to the extent of about 70 % of their running costs (including staff salaries). Until 1967, they did not prepare their students for any examination or vocation, but aimed to provide continued general education through a mixture of theoretical and practical subjects, and to add to the vocational guidance begun in the compulsory school period. Although this still remains their main purpose and provision, certain vocational and examination-directed courses can now be taken, provided that the Ministry of Education considers that they are adequately staffed and equipped. 62 of the 103 *efterskolen* have been allowed to start examination courses in general subjects. In these early stages of the experiment, Danish, arithmetic, typewriting and modern languages have proved popular, although they still represent less than one third of the total course-work. In the vocational sector, only preparatory courses in agriculture have so far been offered, but other lines are to be added.

These schools were originally intended to serve a young rural population, many of them working on family farms after leaving school at the end of the minimum period. Courses, normally of 5 months, tended to follow a seasonal pattern, and attracted girls in the summer and boys in the winter.

Now that they are increasingly regarded as a genuine alternative to the voluntary 8th and 9th years of full-time attendance at day-schools, courses of 10 months, broadly equivalent to the school year, are growing in popularity. At the same time, more of the students (over a quarter of the 8,000 in the 14 - 18 age group enrolled in 1965-66) are drawn from urban areas.

There is no doubt that these schools constitute an important and unusual form of continued education. At first sight, it might seem that, with the progressive increase in the size of the main

schools (*folkeskolen*) and in their ability to provide more fully for the voluntary 8th, 9th and 10th years, the continuation school might lose its popularity as an alternative. There are few signs, however, that this is happening. Although there has been a small reduction in the numbers of pupils enrolled, more are in fact attending for longer periods (in 1965-66, 28 % of students attended courses of from 8 to 11 months' duration). Nor is it envisaged that these longer courses will progressively disappear if and when the compulsory school life is extended. The Danish Folk High School has always recognised the importance of a sustained period of residential education, with all that it can mean for social education and the development of new relationships between adults and young people. The value of this experience to the boy or girl from a disturbed, inadequate or unhappy home is fully recognised. For those young people - and they exist all over Europe - who are just tired of traditional schooling, a change of environment, of companions, and of their relationships with adults, the continuation schools may well provide a genuine second chance. It is also important to point out that the Danish Ministry of Education envisages that some, having made this fresh start in a new setting, may return to full-time schooling.

Residential education is, of course, expensive, and great efforts are made to ensure that this is not an obstacle to the parents' and pupils' choice of this alternative. Boarding costs are $ 25 per month, payable by the pupils. The State refunds 50 % in advance, regardless of means. Up to a further 40 %, depending on parents' income, can also be refunded. Those local education authorities which have not set up a voluntary 8th, 9th and 10th year extension to their main school must meet the remaining half in full. Approximately half the pupils attending continuation schools in 1965-66 had the cost refunded in full.

The teaching force in these schools is very diverse. A substantial nucleus of full-time teachers is considerably reinforced by a large body of part-timers. Both categories contain qualified day-school teachers, but there are many with technical qualifications and practical experience in many walks of life, thus providing a broader spectrum of adult contacts than can usually be found in the normal day-school.

Federal Republic of Germany

Since the competent authorities for education are the 11 States (*Länder*), there is no uniform school system throughout the Republic. What follows, therefore, is a generalised account of arrangements for continued education, with some reference to common problems and significant variations.

Full-time schooling is compulsory for 9 years, from age 6 to age 15 in 10 of the 11 States ; it becomes compulsory in the 11th (Bavaria) in the 1968-69 school year.

Having completed their fourth (or, in some cases, their sixth) year in the elementary school (*Grundschule*) pupils may proceed to one of three types of school :

(*a*) a grammar school (*Gymnasium*)

(*b*) an intermediate secondary school (*Realschule*)

(*c*) a senior elementary, or "main" school (*Hauptschule*).

In some States (e.g. Hesse), a further transfer may take place at 13+ from the main school to a lower vocational school (*Berufsfachschule*).

The type of school to which a pupil transfers is generally based on his elementary school report, together with a trial period of schooling where teaching is shared by teachers from all three types. Some States regard the first two years after transfer (i.e. the 5th and 6th of schooling) as a guidance and observation period.

Although the proportion of children transferring to types (*a*) and (*b*) is increasing, the majority still proceed to type (*c*), and it is here that the pupils who do not intend to continue in full-time education after age 15 are to be found. Except in Berlin, the senior elementary school is usually housed in the same building as the elementary school, and is under the direction of the same headmaster (*Rektor*). In order to create larger units and to offer a wider choice of specialist subject teaching, there is a move towards the creation of larger centralised schools, especially in rural areas, thereby reducing the number of small, undifferentiated village or parochial schools. In Hesse, these larger central schools are often bilateral, in the sense that they include both intermediate secondary and senior elementary pupils (types (*b*) and (*c*)).

The senior elementary school caters for "those pupils with an aptitude for practical occupations by giving them the fundamental knowledge and skills to enable them to enter on a practical career,

and on which to build up their further training in vocational, a special vocational or a continuation school"[1].

It is, therefore, a school for general education rather than for vocational training.

With an increasing proportion, though still a minority, of children going on to grammar and intermediate secondary schools, considerable care and thought has been given to ensuring that the senior elementary school shall not be regarded as a residual school for the "leftovers". The introduction of a 9th compulsory year is not seen merely as an extension of elementary schooling, but as an opportunity to devise a course specially designed to introduce young people to the modern world. There is general agreement that it should strongly emphasise the problems of choosing a career, and education for citizenship, while its general education elements should not only consolidate and improve the pupil's basic knowledge, but foster the development of his personality. The introduction of pupils to working life is not intended as specific "job finding", but rather as a bridge to a career. It aims to acquaint pupils with the many facets of working life, to increase their readiness for work, and prepare them for the hazards of life in modern industrial society.

The following curriculum and weekly time-allocation, while not necessarily typical, shows how one State has attempted to implement these general principles.

North-Rhine Westphalia
Weekly subject and time-allocation : 9th year senior elementary school

Subject	Hours	Periods
Mother tongue	4	4
Religion	2	3
Mathematics	3½	5
Physics	1½	2
Biology	¾	1
Modern language	2¼	3
History, geography, civics	3¾	4
Preparation for work (Vocational information, economics, workshop practice, domestic science)	5	6
Study groups	1½	2
Art, craft, needlework, music	1½	2
Sport	¾	2
Total	26½	34

The merging of history and geography with civics is echoed in the 9th-year curricula prescribed by other States, where it appears under the general title of "special knowledge" *(Sachkunde)* or "special subject knowledge" (*Sachunterricht*). Hesse groups history, social studies and geography under the title of "world knowledge" *(Weltkunde)*.

In a sense, this fusing of traditional disciplines like history and geography exemplifies the post-war efforts to correlate the teaching of different subjects from the 5th school year onwards, which has gained new impetus in face of the problems of this final year at school. As Schulze and Führ point out[2], "an attempt is made, on the one hand, to put pupils in touch with the main currents of intellectual and political life and, on the other hand (by means of the overlapping of separate subjects) to make themselves familiar with the structure of modern industrial society and the forces at work in it".

The North-Rhine Westphalian curriculum illustrates another trend by its inclusion of two periods devoted to study groups (which are timetabled for Saturday morning, and therefore outside the 5-day timetable). This is an attempt to solve the problem of individual treatment which is urgent in the senior elementary school, where pupils may show considerable divergences of ability and aptitude. It is also interesting to record that, in a country where the main school day is often confined to the morning session, arts, crafts, music and needlework are also timetabled for afternoon periods.

Another experimental area of the 9th-year course is concerned with bringing school pupils into direct contact with the working world. This takes two forms, examples of which are currently

1. *Schools in the Federal Republic of Germany*, W. Schulze and C. Führ, Deutches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 1967, p. 29.
2. Op. cit. p. 31.

practised, inter alia, in Hesse. The first is the practice of releasing 9th-year pupils from school for one day per week to attend vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*) at which they will continue compulsory part-time attendance after the conclusion of their full-time schooling. Much of the success of this bridging device depends on the correlation of the teaching given at each institution. The second consists of enabling pupils in their final year to have short periods of actually working in industrial, commercial or service establishments. Valuable experience is being gained of the problems associated with this type of extra-mural work, of the need for careful preparation, close liaison with the receiving firms, involvement of the teachers in the work periods, and integration with the existing vocational guidance services. Some distinction is also emerging between its general value as an insight into the world of work and its function in guiding pupils into specific jobs.

France

The Decree of 6 January 1959 envisaged that, as from 1 January 1967, school attendance should be compulsory for all children to the age of 16, thereby extending the compulsory period from 8 to 10 years.

A concurrent reform of school structures has, as its principal aim, the progressive replacement of the previous variety of forms of education for 11+ children by a 4-year lower stage (*premier cycle*) of secondary education for all. To this end, Colleges of Secondary Education (C.E.S., or *Collèges d'Enseignement Secondaire*) are progressively being established throughout France as multilateral schools designed to provide four-year courses of secondary education for all children between the ages of 11 and 15 in their catchment areas.

At the time of writing, both these major reforms are still in process of implementation. It is envisaged that by 1972, when the extension of the compulsory period of full-time schooling from 8 to 10 years is made fully effective for all children, there shall be sufficient C.E.S. to receive them. What follows, therefore, is necessarily a forward-looking account, compassing both the areas in which the reforms are well on the way to being accomplished and those in which they are further from realisation.

At the age of 11+, having completed the first 5 years of compulsory schooling, pupils pass to lower secondary education. If the local committee for the scrutiny of school records considers that the pupils' standard of elementary education is appropriate, they may enter a general section of lower secondary education where, after one term of diagnosis and guidance, they will begin to follow, though by no means irrevocably, a course with either a classical or a modern (science/modern languages) bias. Those pupils who have not been considered suitable for direct entry into this general section, enter a two-year transitional stage. Here they receive an education, given by form teachers, designed to consolidate and improve their basic knowledge, and to stimulate their interest by the use of more active methods. This stage is diagnostic, in the sense that pupils whose work is of appropriate quality may be guided to enter the classical or modern sections.

Since both the long and short courses provided in the classical and modern sections are designed to link with upper secondary (*deuxième cycle*) studies, the pupils who enter them, and the curricula they follow are not of major interest for the purposes of this study.

Of more immediate concern are the pupils who do not. They, having completed their two-year transitional stage, enter the terminal practical education section, where they will spend the concluding two years of their compulsory schooling on studies which may lead to a school leaving certificate (*diplôme de fin d'études obligatoires*). It should be emphasised, however, that those who show sufficient ability at this stage may yet, at its conclusion, have the opportunity of admittance to a shorter course of upper secondary education, leading to intermediate vocational qualifications. For the remainder, however, the terminal practical education section will be the concluding stage of full-time education.

Some of these sections are already incorporated in colleges of secondary education (C.E.S.) and when the reforms of 1959 are fully implemented, it is intended that all should be so. During the transitional period, however, many form part of, or are annexed to interim institutions such as colleges of technical education (C.E.T.), colleges of general education (C.E.G.), or, in rare cases, to grammar schools (*lycées*).

This terminal practical education need not take the form of full-time attendance at school but may be accomplished by part-time attendance for 12 hours (i.e. 2 days) per week either at one

of the types of school mentioned in the preceding paragraph, or at a training school maintained by an industrial or commercial undertaking ; for the remainder of their time, pupils gain practical experience in employment. They are, however, considered to be *in statu pupillari*, to be continuing their full-time education until the end of the compulsory period, and to be the responsibility, albeit shared with the firms, of the education authorities.

These arrangements, whose organisation shows considerable local variations, are regarded as a temporary expedient designed to come to an end in 1972. By that time, it is planned to provide sufficient places in the terminal practical sections of lower secondary schools (especially in the colleges of secondary education) to enable all pupils to remain in full-time attendance at an institution of lower secondary education until the completion of the compulsory period.

The pedagogy and curriculum for this 2-year terminal practical course have been the subject of considerable thought and discussion since the first experimental classes were initiated by Ministerial Circular in 1962. The challenge of devising an appropriate education for large numbers of pupils who had previously left school at 14, but were now to stay on for one and ultimately two more years was clearly recognised. Secondary education had hitherto been geared to children with good verbal facility and a capacity for handling abstractions. Now, an education suited to other types and levels of aptitude, attitude and intelligence, must be devised.

The experience gained in subsequent years as more courses were established was incorporated and elaborated in a number of Ministerial Circulars issued between 1962 and 1966. In the latter year, detailed instructions [1] were published, including the following table of the main areas of work and the time to be allotted to each.

The principal points made in these instructions, and in earlier circulars may be summarised as follows :

A. *Curricular content*

1. Every effort should be made to strengthen the pupils' basic education, linking with and consolidating the work done in the preceding transition classes, and gaining interest and impetus from the practical work and varied activities.

2. The practical work should be appropriately serious, realistic and "grown-up", and chosen with a view to its intellectual content. It should be conceived as part of a general preparation for working life and not as training for a specific occupation.

3. Alongside this practical work, pupils should be provided with a full range of information about possible jobs and the opportunities for vocational training. Well prepared works visits and periods of works experience could add to the realism of this aspect of the curriculum.

4. Of equal importance was the education of the pupil as a young citizen who should be prepared to understand and to cope successfully with the practical tasks of citizenship (e.g. the completion of social security forms, cheques, money orders etc.).

5. The young person's need for "compensatory activities" (e.g. sport, recreation, entertainment) was stressed. He should be introduced to a wide range of leisure-time pursuits and helped to discriminate and choose wisely between them.

6. The interest of girls in homemaking and family life should be fruitfully exploited, bearing in mind the increasing "mechanisation" of the home. Boys, too, should be encouraged to take a closer interest in this aspect of adult life.

B. *Teaching methods*

(i) A new pedagogy was envisaged, in which the basic skills of observation, reasoning, reading, writing and calculation should be fostered by new methods, with increased emphasis being placed on oral expression.

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1. *Instructions Nos. 66-147*, 5 April 1966. Ministère de l'Education Nationale. Published in Brochure No. 145 F.D. Institut Pédagogique National, Paris 1967.

Guide timetable for 3rd and 4th year practical classes

The week's activities in each class	Time-allocation
1. *Acquiring means of expression* (interpretation of literature, telling the story in one's own words, dramatised situations etc.). 1½ hours with the whole class, ½ hour with half-class groups for remedial work.	2 hours (1½ + ½) (*a*)
2. *Investigations* based on documents, visits and interviews, history, geography, science, nature study, economics (the labour market, buying and selling, family budgets etc.). Preparation, execution and follow-up : 1½ hours with whole class + 1 hour in half-class groups.	2½ hours (1½ + 1)
3. *Mathematical and logical processes* (preparatory exercises, generalisation - graphs, diagrams, interpretation of simple accounts etc.). 1½ hours whole class + ½ hour in half-class groups for remedial work.	2 hours (1½ + ½)
4. *Science and technology* (*a*) practical work in science : 1 hour in half-class groups (*b*) assembling and dismantling of mechanical objects : 1½ hours in half-class groups (*c*) Use of standard drawings and plans (*d*) Study of methods of construction preparatory to work in the workshop : 1½ hours with whole class (*e*) mathematical, scientific and technological follow-up based on pupils' observations : 1 hour with whole class.	5 hours (2½ + 2½)
5. *Small-scale constructive work* (acquiring versatile working skills) (*a*) *Common scheme for boys and girls* (workshop practice with light tools, small soldering, electrical apparatus etc.). 3 hours in half-class groups (2 × 1½ hours) (*b*) *Special scheme* — for boys : work in metal, wood and buildings materials ; use of workshop machines — for girls : needlework, fabrics, cooking, use of domestic appliances (boys' and girls' groups, 5 × 1½ hours).	7½ hours (4½ + 3)
6. *Systematic educative exercises* (to complement the acquisition of working skills). 2 hours in half-class groups (*a*) psycho-motary sector — speed, precision, dexterity (with either hand) (*b*) exercises in arrangement and display suitable for shops and stores etc. (*c*) speaking and writing in the work situation : (report writing, understanding of instructions etc.).	
7. *Aesthetic education* (*a*) Educational handwork (basketry, weaving, pottery, modelling etc.) (*b*) painting and drawing (in half-classes) (*c*) singing, listening to records (plus membership of the school choir).	3 hours (0 + 3 hrs)
8. *Physical education and sport* : the physical education course : sporting and open-air activities.	2 hours (2 + 0 + games practice)
Total :	26 hours (13½ + 12½ + games practice)

(*a*) Of the figures in brackets, the first shows the hours spent as a whole class, the second those spent in half-class groups.

(ii) Subjects should no longer be taught in mutually exclusive compartments, but in much closer relationship to each other. Teachers are expected to work as a team.

(iii) Teacher-pupil relationships should be less formal and more warmly familiar.

(iv) The traditional tests, examinations and mark list would need to be replaced by teachers' assessments of pupils' achievements based on their day-to-day work. Competition should give way to group and team-work.

(v) The traditional timetable would need to be modified, so as to accommodate the active integrated and outward looking curriculum, and to allow for pupils to pursue their projects and inquiries outside school.

In concluding this necessarily brief outline of some aspects of terminal practical classes it is essential to stress that they form an integral part of the lower stages of secondary education. Although their roots lie in the former primary school terminal classes (*classes de fin d'études primaires*), they are designed to lengthen and broaden the general education of the young people who pass through them, and to provide them with a genuine secondary education, more appropriate

to the demands of life in the modern world than was possible under the old system. During the period of transition from old to new, their frequent physical and social separation from the other sections of lower secondary education is being progressively reduced as they become incorporated in the new colleges of secondary education as an essential part of the lower secondary stage. As such, they should be able more fully to share in the educational and vocational guidance which, since the inception of the current reforms, have been regarded as an essential characteristic of the lower secondary stage.

ICELAND

On reaching the age of 13, all pupils pass from the second stage of primary to the first stage of secondary education, which lasts until 15. The 8-year period of compulsory schooling (7-15) is then completed.

This 2-year period is the first stage of a 4-year course of lower secondary general schooling *(gagn fraedaslig)*, and may be spent in one of the following types of school :

1. A "youth school" (*ungling yaskolar*). In rural areas and in smaller villages, these are often run as a direct continuation of primary schools, and offer a 2-year course.

2. A middle school (*midskoli*), offering a 3-year course, and most frequent in the larger villages and smaller towns.

3. A secondary general school (*gagn fraedaskoli*) offering a 4-year course ; this is the most common type, and is primarily to be found in the larger towns.

Pupils from the rural areas, having completed the 2-year course in the youth school, may proceed to district general secondary schools, which are boarding establishments. Here, after a further 2 years, they may take the same examination as pupils completing the 4-year course in an urban secondary general school.

The curricula are supposed to be the same for all types, so that pupils may transfer easily from one type to another in the course of the 4 years. The type of school attended is largely determined by the size and location of the pupil's home community.

About 87 % of pupils completing their compulsory education continue voluntarily for a further (9th) year.

Curriculum for the lower secondary school

Class / Subjects	1 a (1)	1 b (2)	2 a	2 b	3 a	3 b	4 a	4 b
Icelandic	6	8	6	6	6	6	6	6
Danish	5	(5)	4	3	4	5	3	(3)
English			5		5		5	(5)
Arithmetic	5	6	3	5		5	3	5
Mathematics			2					
Religious history	2	2						
World history	3	2						
Icelandic history and sociology				4	3		3	6
Geography	2	4	2		2			
Natural history	3		2		2			
Hygiene			2		1	1	2	
Physics			(1)	2	2	2	(2)	2
Chemistry							2	
Biology						2	(3)	2
Book-keeping						2	(2)	1
Typewriting								
Writing	1	2		1				
Drawing	2	2	2	2	(2)	2	(2)	2
Handicraft	2	6-8	2	6	(2)	6	(2)	6
Singing	1	1	1	1	1	1	(1)	1
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Free choice	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	36	35-37 (40-42)	35 (36)	36	35 (39)	36	28 (40)	32 (40)

(1) General course. (2) Vocational course.

It will be noted that, in all 4 years, about half the time in the vocational course is allotted to practical subjects, while in the general course more time is spent on academic subjects and foreign languages.

Curricula are issued centrally by the Ministry of Education, and form a common basic pattern for all types of lower secondary school, though there is some variation to suit the circumstances and resources of particular schools. Where possible, classes are organised in year groups according to age. In the larger schools with several classes in a year group, pupils are streamed according to ability, although there is some movement towards "setting". The classes for the least able children are often the smallest. There is considerable freedom of teaching method and experiments are encouraged. Educational television has been used since 1967.

There is close co-operation between the schools and both private and municipal youth organisations. After the end of the school day, school premises are often used for youth activities, especially in the larger towns.

Teachers of general subjects in elementary and lower secondary schools receive a four-year training, for which the possession of an intermediate secondary school diploma is a minimum prerequisite. There are special courses, both preparatory and advanced, for teachers of handicrafts, art, music and domestic science. Attendance at refresher courses, both in Iceland and in other Scandinavian countries, is encouraged.

IRELAND

Schooling is compulsory for 8 years (6-14). After 6 years of primary education pupils proceed at 12 and 13 years of age to one of the following :

1. *Secondary Top*

This is a 2-year general school course conducted in a primary school and is only recognised by the Ministry of Education where separate secondary schools are not available. Some transfer to secondary schools or vocational schools after one year.

2. *Secondary (general) education*

These are private institutions, grant-aided and subject to inspection by the Ministry of Education, which also prescribes the curricula after appropriate consultation. Admission is by special examination, or the possession of the primary school certificate.

3. *Continued (vocational) education*

This is intended for pupils aged 13 and over who have completed their primary schooling.

4. *Comprehensive secondary education*

A number of pilot institutions are in process of development, combining secondary general and vocational education.

The majority of pupils with whom this study is concerned follow route 1 or route 3. The diminishing proportion in secondary tops receive an extended elementary education. Those entering route 3 follow a 2-year full-time course of combined general, practical and related theoretical education, each element occupying about one third of the weekly timetable of 25 to 30 lessons. Instruction in the mother tongue, English, arithmetic, geography, civics and religion form the general education base. The practical and related theoretical work varies according to the occupational bias of the school. In a junior technical school for boys, it will largely consist of practical work in wood and metal and technical drawing. Typewriting, office practice and book-keeping are provided in junior commercial schools, homecraft and domestic science in domestic schools for girls, and practical work in agriculture and horticulture with elementary plant and soil science in junior agricultural schools.

Teachers of practical subjects usually have appropriate trade qualifications and experience, to which a one, two, or three-year course of teacher training is added. Trained primary school teachers are responsible for the general education element in the programme.

ITALY

The period of compulsory schooling is 8 years (from age 6 to age 14), the first five of which are spent in the elementary school.

The Law of 1962, which came into operation a year later, instituted a common middle school *(scuola media unica)* which was to provide a common 3-year (11-14) stage of lower secondary education for all children. It was designed progressively to replace the wide variety of institutions which had hitherto catered for that age group, among which the most significant from the "continued education" point of view were the senior elementary school *(scuola post-elementare)* and the lower vocational school *(scuola di avviamento al lavoro)*. There were three main motives behind this reform : the desire for social justice and greater equality of opportunity ; the need, in face of rapid economic development, to tap the potential of the hitherto under-privileged sections of the population ; finally, to raise the common base of general education and to do away with the narrow and premature specialisation which had been a feature of the previous system.

The Law ordained that, by October 1966, a common middle school should be established in every commune with more than 3,000 inhabitants, "and in all localities where the need is manifest". By 1966, communes without middle schools contained only 6.9 % of the population and, by October 1967, some 8,000 of these institutions were in being, receiving nearly 90 % of the children leaving elementary schools. Attendance is free, and admission is obtained on satisfactory completion of elementary schooling.

Since the former vertical divisions have been virtually replaced by a horizontal system, it is not possible to single out a particular type of school intended for "continued education" pupils. The setting-up throughout the country of middle schools, and the concurrent drive to ensure that all children effectively complete the compulsory period has meant both a broadening and a prolongation of schooling for many who had hitherto only completed the elementary stage. Streaming, and even "setting" according to ability are not encouraged, so that it is possible closely to identify a particular course or section of the school as being specifically intended for those who will terminate their full-time education on completion of the compulsory period.

Middle School : Weekly subject and time allocation [1]

Subjects	Hours per week		
	1st year	2nd year	3rd year
A. *Compulsory subjects*			
I. Religion	1	1	1
II. Mother tongue	6	—	5
Mother tongue and elementary Latin	—	9	—
History and civic education, and geography	4	4	4
III. Foreign language (English or French or Spanish)	2	3	3
IV. Mathematics	3	3	3
Observation and elementary natural science	2	2	3
V. Artistic education	2	2	2
VI. Craftwork (handicraft for boys) (homecrafts for girls)	2	—	—
VII. Musical education	1	—	—
VIII. Physical education	2	2	2
	25	26	23
B. *Optional subjects*			
IX. Latin	—	—	4
X. Craftwork	—	2	3
XI. Musical education	—	1	1
Total	25	27, 28, 29	24 - 26 27 - 31

As the above table of the compulsory common curriculum shows, all pupils follow the same regime for the first year (subject to possible extension and variation by means of the "after-school" *(doposcuola)* described below). In the second and third years, a substantial common core is maintained, but pupils may choose one of three options on which to spend a small proportion of their weekly timetable. In the third year this enables Latin to be introduced for those aspiring to enter the classical grammar school *(liceo classico)*, and for slightly more time to be spent on craft work by those with practical employment or further vocational education in view. Children who

1. *Raccolta delle Disposizioni Legislative e Amministrative Sulla Scuola Media.* G. di Stefano, Rome 1966.

find particular difficulty in acquiring the basic skills are catered for in special classes *(classi differenziali)*, while those who are unable to keep up with the general pace and level are catered for in "recovery" classes *(classi di aggiornamento)*. Both are regarded as an important element in this stage of lower secondary education.

The teaching is on a modified subject specialist basis (e.g. in groups II, III and IV one or more subjects may be taught by the same teacher) ; this is regarded as a significant step towards the elimination of the single form teacher characteristic of the former elementary system.

At the end of the 3-year period, pupils take an examination for the middle school certificate, which includes the mother tongue, history and civics, geography, mathematics, natural science, a foreign language, art and physical education. Those possessing this certificate (plus a test in Latin for entrants to classical grammar schools) may enrol in a variety of upper secondary and technical schools, including the scientific grammar schools.

To encompass in a single curriculum with only marginal optional variations the range of subjects and levels of teaching appropriate to abilities, aptitudes and aspirations of all children in this age group was recognised as a major problem by those responsible for the 1962 Act. They were also conscious of the relative shortness of the school day, which is generally limited, for a variety of reasons, to half-day sessions. The Act therefore permitted any middle school which wished and was able to do so, to institute an afternoon session *(doposcuola)* for 10 hours per week, devoted to additional studies and extra curricula activities. As might perhaps be expected from an innovation which called for a radical change in traditional practice, and whose social, financial and administrative implications were difficult to foresee, the development of the after-school period has been slow and fraught with controversy. By October 1967, it was estimated that some 15 % of middle schools had adopted it. There is no doubt, however, that it offers in theory considerable opportunities for adding to and varying the basic regime of the common curriculum, and for catering for the interests, inclinations and abilities of the individual. For the "continued education" pupil it could provide a more active, practical and informal element to his secondary education.

NETHERLANDS

1. *General background*

Compulsory schooling lasts for 8 years (6-14), with transfer from primary to post-primary schools taking place at 12 +. In February 1967, a Bill was submitted extending the compulsory period to 9 years, "but it cannot come into force until after 1968, because suitable forms of education have not been developed, though research is proceeding apace" [1]. A post-primary education Act (known popularly as the "Mammoth Act"), covering all post-primary education up to, but excluding the higher, or university level, was passed in 1963 and came into force in August 1968. This Act seeks to satisfy the following requirements :

(*a*) Pupils at post-primary schools must be given a broader education than that hitherto offered by the basic primary school curriculum and be given a deeper insight into the material taught, which itself must be oriented with a view to their probable later sphere of work.

(*b*) Every pupil on leaving primary school should have an opportunity to obtain a general education (i.e. not directly oriented to careers) and the type of vocational education whose scope and content are most suited to his aptitudes and capabilities.

(*c*) Every vocational course should be preceded by a phase of general education.

(*d*) The moment in post-primary education at which vocational education begins to predominate will depend on the pupil's aptitudes ; broadly speaking, the more intellectually gifted the pupil is, the later it will be.

(*e*) The structure of post-primary education should be such as to provide facilities for pupils either to change over from one type of school to another of the same grade or to proceed from a lower to a higher grade of school.

2. *Structure of post-primary education*

Post-primary education comprises :

(*a*) pre-university education ;

(*b*) general post-primary education, divided into 3 grades : (i) elementary *(l.a.v.o.)*, (ii) secondary *(m.a.v.o.)*, and (iii) higher *(h.a.v.o.)* ;

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1. Ministry of Education and Science ; ***School Education in the Netherlands in 1968***, Docinform No. 214, The Hague 1967, p. 3.

(*c*) vocational education and training, also divided into 3 grades : (i) elementary *(l.b.o.)*, (ii) intermediate *(m.b.o.)* and (iii) higher *(h.b.o.)* ;

(*d*) other forms of post-primary education.

Types (*b*) (i) *(l.a.v.o.)* and (*c*) (i) *(l.b.o.)* are those which cater for continued education pupils ; it is estimated that they will be attended by about 50 % of pupils in a given age group. In order to ease transfer and to help pupils to select the right course, the following curriculum is common to the first, or "bridge" year in both types of school.

Subject	Weekly periods (50 minutes)
Mother tongue	4
Modern languages	2
History and geography (including the highway code)	2
Mathematics (including arithmetic)	3
Natural science	2
Music	1
Art (drawing)	2
Manual skills *	4
Physical education	3
Study periods	2
	25

* 8 periods in elementary technical and elementary home economics schools, making 29 periods in all.

For those who, after this bridge year, continue to follow the *l.a.v.o.* route, the basic curriculum remains the same, with extra periods being added for most subjects and the introduction of social studies for 2 periods, bringing the weekly total to 42 periods or 35 hours. To an increasing extent, however, *l.a.v.o.* schools have either been incorporated in, or have been combined with elementary vocational and technical schools, which offer 3 or 4-year courses in one more of the following broad vocational sectors : industry, home economics, agriculture, artisan crafts, the service trades, (e.g. catering), and commerce.

The curriculum for the final year of the 3-year course has two main elements, general and technical. The former contains the same subjects as the preceding 2 years (described above) and occupies about half the weekly timetable ; the latter consists of vocationally directed practical work with related theory, which varies according to the trade-bias of the course. The general-vocational balance remains broadly the same in the final year of the 4-year course. Both courses make provision for the addition of a number of optional periods.

Two new forms of elementary vocational education have been developed in recent years : individual education *(i.t.o.)* and individual home economics education for girls. They are designed to cater for boys and girls of low, but not especially subnormal ability and for those who, for a variety of other reasons, have not laid an adequate foundation of elementary education. They therefore receive pupils who have needed to repeat grades in the elementary schools, the children of migratory workers, and such pupils from the special schools for the educationally retarded and subnormal and the physically handicapped as are thought capable of benefiting from the course. The balance of the curriculum is broadly the same as in the elementary vocational schools, but great care is taken to create a teaching situation appropriate to these young people's special needs and difficulties. Teaching groups are small (15 is the recommended maximum), so that the teacher can give individual care to each pupil. In the general subjects material related to everday life and to young people's interests in used, while in handicrafts and physical education, individual freedom of expression is encouraged. The problems arising naturally in the course of the vocationally-related practical work are used to revive interest in reading, writing, and calculations. Whenever possible, the time spent in practical rooms and workshops is not so much occupied in technical exercises as in producing finished articles which are of real use to the pupils, to their families, or to the charitable and social institutions with which the schools are encouraged to associate themselves.

It should be stressed that, throughout this large elementary vocational sector, certain general objectives are being firmly pursued. The first is the broadening, raising and strengthening of the base of general education. The second is the progressive elimination of narrow, premature training for a specific trade or employment. In tune with the more general needs of the modern economy, these schools aim to prepare young people for employment by introducing them progressively to a general appreciation of basic industrial theory and practice, using the vocational subjects to stimulate their interest, to motivate them to better achievement, and to diagnose their developing aptitudes as a basis for vocational guidance.

To this must be added the growing trend towards the creation of larger schools, which will offer more than one level of vocational and general education, or preparation for a wider range of occupations in the same institution. It is hoped that this, together with the "bridge" year, will widen pupils' range of choice and facilitate transfer from one course or level to another as their aptitudes and abilities develop.

Norway

Norway is in transition from a 7-year (7-14) to a 9-year period of compulsory schooling. The 7-year period became compulsory in 1889 ; in 1954, experiments in schools, including the voluntary extensions of schooling were both permitted and encouraged by an Act of Parliament. In 1959, the Primary Schools Act, which made arrangements for local extension of compulsion, stated that "the local authority may, on the recommendation of the School Board, decide to introduce a (further) voluntary school year ;" and that "the local authority may, on the recommendation of the School Board, and with the agreement of the Ministry, decide to oblige pupils to attend... for 9 years".

In the transitional period, which will last well into the 1970s, Norwegian children will, dependent on local circumstances, follow one of three possible routes.

(*a*) A basic 7-year course in the traditional elementary school *(folkeskole)*. This may be continued in a continuation school *(framhaldskole)* offering general education with some instruction in practical subjects. Courses may vary from 12 weeks to two years full time or 3 years of part time evening attendance. Generally they are equivalent to one school year. Local authorities have the power to make the first year of continuation school compulsory for all pupils that leave the 7-year primary school without proceeding to further education. About half the authorities in the country have done so, but with the gradual introduction of routes (*b*) and (*c*), the continuation school is going out of existence.

(*b*) A compulsory 9-year course, consisting of :

(i) 6 years' elementary school *(barneskole)*, plus
(ii) 3-year lower secondary *(ungdomskole)*. This latter has been formed by amalgamation of the two former types of secondary school (the continuation school and the 3-year lower academic school *(realskole)*).

(*c*) A 7 + 2-year variant of (*b*) ; this is more popular in thinly populated rural areas.

Continued education pupils are, therefore, to be found in all three types. The child following *route* (*a*) will have shared in the common curriculum of the elementary school. The subjects are religious instruction, mother tongue, home environment, history, geography, nature study, arithmetic, writing, art, music, handwork, physical education and English. His studies will lead to a final examination which includes written papers in mother tongue, arithmetic and sometimes English.

If he goes on to continuation school, he will have a basic group of compulsory subjects which includes practical work and theory, mother tongue, arithmetic and book-keeping, social studies and hygiene. The course is examined by the local authority and success may lead, under certain conditions, to various higher courses of education.

The curriculum for routes (*b*) and (*c*) is shown in the following table :

Lower-secondary (ungdomskole)

Subject	7th class	8th class with 9 hours of optional subjects	9th class with 20 hours of optional subjects
Mother tongue	5	4	4
Mathematics	4	5	5 (2) (0)
Religion	2	2	2
Social studies	5	4	5 (2)
Natural science	4	4	5 (2)
English	4	4 (0)	4 (0)
German	—	5 (0)	5 (0)
Music	2	2	2
Physical education	3	2	2
Art	4	2	2
Home economics	3	2	—
Optional subjects	—	— (5-9)	— (5-20)
Total weekly hours	36	36	36

These top classes are maintained unstreamed, with elective courses in various subjects. The main differentiation into theoretical and practical lines is postponed to the 9th year. The differentiation is worked out in classes 8 and 9 on the basis of subjects, with choice of one or two foreign languages, and courses offered at three levels of difficulty in English, two in German, three in Norwegian and three in mathematics. Only a small proportion (usually about 10 %) do not choose one foreign language. It would appear that children are reasonably realistic in choosing the level at which they will study a subject, although, as they move from year to year, there is a tendency for them to opt for a higher grade than the one chosen in the previous year.

Alternative timetables are shown in brackets in the table above. In the 8th class, those who do not choose German may have extra Norwegian (1), extra physical education (1), and handwork (3). Those who do not continue with English can give the 4 periods to practical work, home economics, free activities, vocational guidance, workshop practice or works experience in a firm. The 9 "free-choice" periods can be given to any subjects offered by the school.

In the 9th class, there is a reduced common core, with the remaining periods being grouped into 6 main lines : general-theoretical, fishing and seafaring, home economics, commercial, agricultural and industrial. The general-theoretical line prepares for entry into upper secondary education ; two foreign languages must be taken, and the elective subjects must be studied at the higher grades. In the other lines, 14 of the 36 timetable periods are allocated to practical subjects.

Sweden

Under the 1962 School Law, school attendance was extended to 9 years (i.e. 7-16) for all children. The new comprehensive school *(grundskolan)* is common to youngsters of primary and lower secondary school age. The new system is gradually being introduced and will be completely established during the school year 1972-73.

The comprehensive school is divided into 3 departments. It is in the upper department *(hogstadiet)* which contains the whole 13-16 age group where "continued education" pupils are to be found.

Until they reach the upper department, all pupils in a class are taught all their subjects by a class teacher ; when they enter grade 7 (the first in the upper department) they are grouped in the same classes as they were in the middle department but they face two major changes of regime :

(*a*) they get new teachers who are specialised by subject and are called "subject teachers" ;

(*b*) in addition to a compulsory care curriculum, they are now given the choice of a number of optional subjects (5 weekly periods).

This pattern is modified in grade 8, when the number of optional periods is increased to 7 and English is no longer compulsory. In grade 9 pupils select one of 9 courses in which to spend their final year.

Great emphasis is placed on freedom of choice of these optional subjects and alternative courses. Article 25 of the 1962 Education Act stipulates that they are to be decided on by the parents in consultation with the pupil after information has been provided by the school. This is a deliberate reaction against, and in marked contrast to allocation by some form of selection, which characterises certain "vertical" systems in other countries. It is intended to be "a fundamental exercise in the principles of democracy", by giving each pupil and his parents equal rights of choice. If it is to function effectively, both parents and children need to exercise good judgment and foresight. This in turn underlines the need for good vocational guidance and good relations between home and school. As the report to OECD states "much remains to be done to solve this crucial problem".

Despite the appearance of optional subjects in grade 7, the unity of the class group is maintained. Pupils are neither assigned to classes according to their choice of optional subjects nor on the basis of their previous class marks. In the 7th and 8th grades, classes in English and mathematics are divided according to the type, depending on whether the options chosen show a theoretical or a practical bias. No such division is made for the mother tongue, but in grades 7 and 8, one of the weekly periods in this subject is devoted to a review of the subject matter in order to reinforce the pupils' knowledge ; for this each class is divided into two groups. There is also some "setting" of pupils on the basis of their choice of foreign languages, the stage at which their study is begun, and the level of proficiency reached.

Within the common core, pupils in grade 8 have some choice as to how they spend the 4 weekly periods allotted to music, handicrafts and art .They may choose to divide the time between two of these subjects and neglect the third, if they wish, and so have a chance to follow their special interests.

All pupils in the 8th grade must take part in "practical vocational guidance", regardless of their options or the course to be chosen in grade 9. After preparatory work in their civics classes, they spend periods of up to 3 weeks at different places of work to get direct experience of working life. There are plans to delay this experience until the 9th or final year.

Distribution of weekly periods in grades 7 - 9

Subject	Grade			
	7	8	9g, 9h 9m, 9s	9mek, 9ha 9ht, 9pr
Compulsory subjects				
Mother tongue	3	3	5	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	
English	4			
General subjects				
Religion	2	2	1	
Social studies				
Civics	1	2	2	2
History	—	3	2	
Geography	—	3	2	2
Science				
Biology	3	0	2	2
Chemistry	—	2	2	
Physics	2	2	2	
Music	2 (1)			
Art	2	4	4	2
Handicraft	1 (2)			
Domestic science	3			
Physical education	3	3	2	2
Practical vocational guidance				
Optional subjects	5	7	7	
	35	35	35	22

As the above table indicates, the 7th and 8th grades bring only minor variations to the common core. The optional element is nevertheless important as a means of meeting the widening spread of pupils' interests, aptitudes and dawning vocational aspirations. Thus, in the 7th year, three of the 5 optional groups include a second foreign language, combined, in varying proportions, with extra Swedish or mathematics, or with typewriting. In a fourth group, the whole time is spent on handicrafts, while a fifth allows handicrafts or typewriting to be combined with either extra Swedish or mathematics.

In the 8th grade, the fan of options widens to 9. Three have a strong modern language element ; two feature technical and commercial studies (with languages). The remainder offer varying combinations of domestic science, home nursing, handicrafts, typewriting and workshop studies, music, art and modern languages.

Grade 9 is divided into 5 sections. In all but the first, pupils may choose between a theoretical or a more practical course.

1. Course 9 g. Direct preparations for upper secondary education.

2. Course 9 h. Humanities.

   Course 9 pr. General-practical.

3. Course 9 t. Technical.

   Course 9 tp. Practical-technical.

4. Course 9 m. Mercantile.

   Course 9 ha. Commercial.

5. Course 9 s. Social-economic.

   Course 9 ht. Domestic science.

The five courses listed first in each group are, in principle, designed to open the way to further studies in upper secondary and other further full-time education. As will be seen from the table above, the compulsory common core of academic subjects continues to take up two thirds of the 9th-grade programme for these courses. In the 4 practical courses, however, the common core is considerably reduced, with pupils spending two thirds of their time in pre-vocational subjects clearly relevant to their life and work as young adults, as the following table shows :

Pre-vocational subjects in 9th-grade practical courses

Course	Subject	No. of weekly periods	Total weekly periods
Mechanics course (9 mek)	*Vocational work :* bench work, machine work, hot machining, practical training.	17	
	Vocational theory : tools, machine tools, machine parts, materials, cutting, welding and soldering, accounting, material handling, production technique, information, workshop hygiene.	5	22
Commercial course (9 ha)	Swedish, practical course	2	
	Commercial mathematics	4	
	Commercial theory	2	
	Book-keeping	3	
	General material theory	2	
	Typewriting	3	
	Shop or office work	6	22
Domestic science course (9 ht)	Home and furnishing	4	
	Economy and work organisation	2	
	Food and cooking	7	
	Textiles and needlework	5	
	Child and family care	4	22
General practical course (9 pr)	Vocational work : store work, goods office work, bench work, machine work, hot machining, maintenance, care of motors, care of home and clothes, cooking.	18	
	Vocational theory : tools, machine tools, materials, reading plans, accounting, vocational hygiene, practical vocational guidance.	4	22

Swedish educationalists stress that, despite the strong pre-vocational flavour of these courses, they are not designed to provide direct training for a specific vocation. Their purpose is rather to offer a broad basic training which covers broad sectors of working life.

Both the range of practical streams offered and their content are flexible and capable of modification to meet the practical experience of the pupils and the varying occupational conditions of different districts. For example, a forestry course may be offered. Adaptation to local conditions, however, is not allowed to distort the broader vocational aims of any practical course.

One further possibility for 9th-year pupils should be mentioned. Those who have made a definite choice of career by the end of the 8th grade may spend their final compulsory year in a vocational school, in a workshop or other place of work. Permission must be granted by the local school board in each case.

An acceptable level of performance in these 4 practical streams qualifies pupils for direct admission to various occupations or to further training in part-time or, in some cases, full-time vocational and professional schools.

Each of the 25 Swiss cantons has sovereign rights in the field of primary and secondary education and has complete independence in the organisation and control of its schools. There are, therefore, 25 school systems, which differ from each other in many ways, including the starting age and duration of compulsory schooling, and in the age and extent of transfer from elementary to secondary education.

Compulsory schooling begins at the age of 6 or 7 and lasts for between 7 and 9 years ending at the age of 15 in most cantons. For the first 3, 4, 5 or 6 years all children attend a common elementary school. The ablest pupils then transfer to secondary education and generally follow one of three curricular tracks, humanities, sciences and business. Selection, again depending on the canton, may be by examination, although an observation and guidance cycle has been instituted in certain cantons (e.g. Geneva, Vaud) as part of an attempt to open secondary education to more children and to broaden the field of recruitment for higher education.

The majority of children, however, continue at the elementary school until the end of the compulsory period. Here, all cantons have made and are making a considerable effort to adapt the education given to the requirements of modern life. Not only has the length of compulsory schooling been extended in most cantons, but the number of weeks of attendance in each year has been increased. Terminal classes, with more optional subjects (including languages), and with a strong element of guidance and pre-vocational training have been developed.

An interesting example of this "terminal" education is provided by the "Work Year" *(Werkjahr)* in the Canton of Berne. This is available for both boys and girls in the final, or ninth year of compulsory schooling.

As the following tables of weekly time and subject allocation show, the curriculum is predominantly practical.

The "Work Year" (Werkjhar) — *Berne Canton*

Table of subjects and weekly time-allocation

Boys		Girls	
Subject	Periods	Subject	Periods
1. *Workshop education*		1. *Education for work*	
Tools, materials, processes and working conditions	31	Employment-orientated practical work (tools, machines, materials, processes, and working conditions).	11
Technical drawing	3	Needlework (with machines)	10
		Cookery and domestic work	8
2. *General education*		2. *General education*	
Mother tongue (oral)	2	Mother tongue (oral)	2
Arithmetic, geometry	2	Arithmetic, geometry	2
Civic education	1	Civic and social education	2
Related practical work	1	Physical education	2
Physical education	2	Helping to prepare, serve and clear away the school lunch	3
Total	42	Total	40

At first sight, the regime would appear to be heavily weighted on the "education for work" side, with some 75 % of the time being devoted to it, leaving only 25 % for general, personal and social education. In practice, however, there is much planned interpenetration between these two major compartments of the work. Indeed it would be not too much to say that the curriculum is treated as an integrated whole. For both boys and girls, Section I is not treated as preparation for any specific employment, but rather as a carefully planned and progressive introduction to the technology of work, with emphasis on the design and function of hand and machine tools, the nature of the materials used and the aesthetics of the finished product. Practical work is devised and taught not only to encourage the acquisition of a wide range of physical and manipulative skills but also to refresh and improve mathematical and scientific knowledge in a purposive context. It is also aimed at producing objects which are not merely "exercises", but useful and aesthetically pleasing articles. These, in turn, are linked with the pupils' social and civic education. Toys, games

and small furniture are produced for and delivered by the pupils to nursery schools. Bird boxes are made and delivered to a mountain nature reserve on a school expedition to learn more of the varied fauna and flora of the countryside. Although the constituent elements of this curriculum are by no means unusual in this type of continued education, the extent to which they are welded into an all-round preparation for work and life which overcome the traditional divisions between subjects, and between vocational and general education is particularly suggestive.

Though not necessarily representative of the "terminal" education provided by the various cantons, this "Work Year" does indicate that the education authorities, while seeking to open opportunities for a more varied secondary education to an increasing proportion of young people, do not regard them as a temporary and obsolescent feature of their educational systems. Rather, would they claim, that by focussing resources and attention on their special characteristics they have been able to devise a form of education which is not regarded as inferior to others for the same age-group. Its broadly and humanely conceived pre-vocational training, allied to careful guidance based on the aptitudes and interests thereby revealed is seen as a realistic response to economic and social realities.

Turkey

The law of 5 January 1961 made education compulsory from age 6 to the completion of the 14th year of age. There are, however, many children for whom no school facilities as yet exist, despite substantial recent progress.

Those pupils who do not continue after 5 years of elementary schooling, may be compelled to attend supplementary basic courses or classes up to the end of the 14th year, which must be organised by the State or by the local authorities.

The supplementary basic courses are provided for pupils of compulsory school age who have completed 5 years of elementary schooling but have no opportunity for continuation. These courses aim to build upon elementary education, to broaden and deepen knowledge of society, of the responsibilities, of nutrition, health and hygiene, and to foster reading and spoken language skills. The following subjects are offered, each for two hours per week : social studies, Turkish, mathematics, nutrition, health and hygiene.

A short-term primary education programme has also been mounted for children of compulsory school age who have never attended school. Within this programme, the 'A' course gives instruction in reading and writing and in the subject matter of the first three grades of the elementary schooling. If they then pass an examination, they proceed to a 'B' course which gives a condensed version of the fourth and fifth years of the regular primary course. Classes are held for a minimum of 8 hours per week.

United Kingdom (England and Wales)

School attendance is compulsory for 10 years (age 5 to age 15). It is intended to raise this to 11 years in 1972-73.

The provision of public education is in the hands of 162 local education authorities, which are the councils elected by each county and county borough. Under the 1944 Education Act, it is the duty of each local education authority to secure that there is efficient education — at three progressive levels, primary, secondary and further — to meet the needs of the local population. Each authority enjoys a large measure of autonomy in the way it interprets this broad prescription. In each school, moreover, the subjects and time allocations in the curricula are substantially in the hands of their Heads. What follows, therefore, is a summary of the general pattern, with significant variations noted.

Although the age of transfer from elementary (primary) education to secondary education may vary from 7 to 12, it is at age 11, after 7 years in a common primary school, that the majority of local education authorities arrange for this transfer to take place. Selection procedures vary, but the general trend is towards greater reliance on the opinion of primary teachers and parents' wishes, and less on a selection examination (the "11 +").

Secondary education is provided in 4 main types of school :

(*a*) grammar school,

(*b*) secondary technical school,

(*c*) secondary modern school,

(*d*) comprehensive school.

Since 1965, it has been government policy to end selection at 11 and to eliminate separatism in secondary education by the establishment of more comprehensive schools of various types. At the time of writing, schemes of secondary school reorganisation on comprehensive lines have been implemented, or approved for implementation, in the areas of two thirds of all local education authorities.

Secondary education therefore faces a long period of transition. For some years, the great majority of pupils who leave at 15 will continue to enter secondary modern schools, but the present substantial numbers attending some form of comprehensive school will continue to grow as the new policy is implemented. The comprehensive schools, whether new foundations, or varying combinations of types (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*), will be larger schools, generally offering a wider range of courses than the existing secondary modern schools. The present tendency for secondary technical schools to lose their identity as separate institutions, and to become components of some type of comprehensive school will be accelerated.

Many secondary modern and most comprehensive schools offer from one to three years of schooling beyond the compulsory period, thereby providing short, intermediate and long secondary courses under one roof or in one institution.

Because of the substantial curricular autonomy enjoyed by each school, it is not possible to provide a nationally valid analysis of the subjects and the time given to each in the final compulsory year of lower secondary education. However, enquiries made in connection with two reports on the education of the young school leaver, issued in 1963 and 1968 respectively, have produced a general picture of what these boys and girls were doing near the end of their time at school.

The first of these enquiries [1] produced the following picture of the subjects most frequently taken, and the average time allotted to them, in the fourth-year curriculum for boys in 117 and the girls in 115 secondary modern schools in England and Wales in 1961. (The proportions of girls', boys' and co-educational schools in the sample was approximately 1:1:3.)

Subject	% of weekly timetable		Approximate weekly hours	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. *Humanities*				
Mother tongue	20	20	4 3/4	4 3/4
Religious instruction	6	6	1 1/2	1 1/2
History	6	6	1 1/2	1 1/2
Geography	6	6	1 1/2	1 1/2
Other subjects	1	1	1/4	1/4
	39	39	9 1/2	9 1/2
2. *Science and mathematics*				
Science	6	5	1 1/2	1 1/4
Mathematics	18	17	4 1/2	4 1/4
	24	22	6	5 1/2
3. *Practical subjects*				
Art and music	9	13	2	3
Physical education	10	8	2 1/4	1 3/4
Wood and metal work	12	—	3	—
Technical drawing	6	—	1 1/2	—
Housecraft and needlework	—	18	—	4 1/2
	37	39	8 3/4	9 1/4
Combined Total	100	100	24 1/4	24 1/4

The most common alternative subjects were shorthand and typing (20 % or 4 1/2 hours) for girls, rural science (3 % or 3/4 hours) for boys, and a foreign language (11 % or 2 1/2 hours) for boys and girls.

1. Newsom Report. op. cit, p. 237.

The approximative weekly hours shown above exclude time spent in assembly, registration, meal and recreation breaks. Lesson periods varied from 30 to 45 minutes. It should be stressed that the average time allocations shown concealed wide and important variations both between schools and between one class and another in the same school. Despite the degree of curricular autonomy, however, there was in practice a greater measure of uniformity in the subjects offered than in the time allotted to them.

Among the significant differences not revealed by these average figures are :

(*a*) that boys in boys' schools spent an average 1 ½ hours per week more on the science and mathematics group than did girls in girls' schools, who in turn spent correspondingly more time on the practical group. In co-educational schools, this difference, though it still existed, was roughly halved ;

(*b*) that subject and time allocation often reflected the teachers and accommodation available rather than the curricular ideals of the Head ;

(*c*) that there was no positive correlation between the balance of subjects and time allocation on the one hand and the ability of the pupils on the other.

A more recent picture [1] of the subjects most frequently taken by 15-year old leavers in their last year at school emerges from the replies to a questionnaire given by a sample of 13-16 year olds who intended to leave, or had left school at the end of the minimum compulsory period. They were drawn from 111 schools, mainly of types (*c*) and (*d*).

Subject	% who were taking, or who had taken the subject in their 4th year	
	Boys	*Girls*
Geography	88	88
History	85	88
Science, chemistry, physics, biology, rural studies, nature study	96	87
Mathematics	99	99
Woodwork, carpentry	75	1
Metalwork, engineering, workshop practice	58	1
Technical drawing	69	2
Housecraft, cookery, mothercraft	4	94
Needlework	—	92
Commercial subjects, shorthand, typing	2	17
Mother tongue	99	100
Foreign languages	13	23
Art and handicraft	88	88
Music	66	85
Physical education and sport	97	94
Religious education	89	92
Current affairs, social studies, civics	29	28

While the 6-year interval between the studies on which these two preceding tables are based has not markedly affected the subject balance of the fourth-year curriculum, it has been a period of experiment and development both in the content of its constituent subjects and in their inter-relations. Much of this has been initiated or encouraged by the National Council for the Curriculum and Examinations, working in co-operation with a number of independent research bodies, which has undertaken development projects designed to promote relevant and useful courses for the young school leaver. The physical sciences, mathematics, and social studies have been among the themes chosen [2]. The general trend of their suggestions has been towards greater practical participation and personal discovery by the individual pupil, and towards closer relationship between school work and the realities of the modern industrial and social scene. Although these suggestions are not mandatory, many schools, in addition to those directly involved in the experimental projects, have been influenced by the Schools Council's work. This development is expected to accelerate as the date for extending the compulsory school period approaches.

1. *The Young School Leaver*, Schools Council, H.M.S.O., 1968.
2. See *Science for the Young School Leaver ; Mathematics for the Majority ; Society and the Young School Leaver* (Schools Council, H.M.S.O., London).

CHAPTER 3

PROGRAMMES OF CONTINUED EDUCATION . SOME SIGNIFICANT FEATURES

1. *Curriculum*

(i) *Basic general education*

Most of the programmes described in the previous Chapter show either explicitly or by implication, a common concern for consolidating, supplementing and extending pupils' basic general education. The discussions at the Interlaken Seminar demonstrated that, although the interpretation of "basic" and "general" might differ from country to country, there was broad agreement that one of the main weaknesses of many continued education pupils was their indifferent grasp of the fundamental skills of literacy and numeracy. Without these skills, they were unable to take advantage of many aspects of school life, and would enter adult life with a serious and possibly permanent handicap.

In all contined education programmes, the improvement of pupils' command of the *mother tongue* is stressed, and receives a substantial allocation of teaching time. Varying degrees of emphasis are given to the component elements of language study (e.g. pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, study of literature etc.), but the substitution of the title "acquiring the means of expression" for "mother tongue" in the programme for the terminal practical classes in France is perhaps symptomatic of a changing approach to language teaching which is by no means confined to France. For pupils often handicapped by environmental difficulties and psychological inhibitions, the acquisition of confidence and competence in speaking their native language is generally accepted as essential to improving their whole attitude and performance. "There is no gift like the gift of speech ; and the level at which people have learned to use it determines the level of their companionship, the level at which their life is lived [1]."

An interesting example of the frank recognition of the need to improve pupils' ability to communicate in their own language is to be found in the programme for the "Work Year" of the Berne Canton in Switzerland, where work in the monther tongue is specificially designated as oral.

On the role of *numeracy* in continued education there would appear to be general agreement that it is essential, but a considerable spectrum of opinion on the means by which it can be encouraged. The Interlaken Seminar favoured a modest target of improving pupils' grasp of arithmetic, calculations and measurement. The recommended or mandatory curricula of some countries specify mathematics, and make particular mention of algebra and geometry. Closer linkage with practical and vocational subjects is generally preferred to artificial and purely theoretical problems. The relevant section of the scheme of study for the terminal practical education in France bears the title of "mathematical and logical processes", and is explicitly linked with the work in the science and technology section. A usefully comprehensive statement on the role of mathematics in continued education occurs in an English study of mathematics for the young school leaver [2] :

"Mathematics can play a significant part in helping these young people, who have to face the world with their intellectual limitations sometimes combined with adolescent and other tensions, to stand fairly and squarely on their own feet. Mathematics can help them to make decisions for themselves based on some degree of reason ; it can help them to distinguish between soundly presented data and mere speciousness in argument and presentation so apparent in current advertising techniques levelled at the teenage population. In short as an integral part of their general education, their mathematical education should enable them to cope as confidently and effectively as possible with living in an age which is rapidly becoming more dependent on mathematics and technology. This is by no means the same as training them to be mathematicians."

The clear statement in the final report of the Interlaken Seminar that "it is impossible to understand the modern world without an introduction to the *natural sciences*" finds a positive, if varied response in member countries' continued education programmes. In nearly all, science subjects are included in the compulsory or generally accepted core of the curriculum. In some cases, this represents an important extension of previous primary or elementary curricula which, although

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1. Newsom Report, opt. cit., p. 118.
2. England : The Schools Council Working Paper No. 14, *Mathematics for the Majority*, p. 36.

containing a subject generally described as nature study, concentrated on the basic skills and the humanities. The other physical sciences and their technological applications were generally reserved for those pupils pursuing longer secondary courses, or engaging in technical and vocational training and education. Looking at present curricula, the scientific element appears in various guises. In those where the specific subject nomenclature is employed (e.g. Denmark, Belgium, the Federal Republic, Sweden), biology and physics are most frequently prescribed, although in some cases where optional alternatives are possible in the final years, one or the other may be dropped, or replaced by pre-vocational studies with a scientific content. The broader title of science or natural science is used in Norway and the Netherlands, while in England, where there are no mandatory curricula, the scientific sector of the curriculum may be labelled chemistry, physics, biology, rural studies, rural science or nature study. In Italy, where the inclusion of "Observation and the elements of natural science" in the curriculum for all lower secondary pupils is an innovation, the intention is to give a broad introduction to biology, physics, chemistry and geology based on the pupil's own observations of natural phenomena. Another approach is typified by the subject "The scientific basis of the modern economy" in the scheme of study for the Polytechnic Year in Austria, which aims to develop pupils' insight into the physical, chemical and biological processes which they meet in everyday life, and to demonstrate their application in the household, in industry and in agriculture. This emphasis on the everyday manifestations of applied science is also recommended in the French programme for terminal practical classes, where science and technology form a combined area of study.

It is not surprising that an international gathering like the Interlaken Seminar considered that, "in the modern world where distances count for almost nothing, and where it is essential to understand, as far as possible, the manner of life in countries other than one's own, a knowledge of *modern languages* is of considerable importance to many". In effect, they were recommending that the acquisition of such knowledge was essential to the young European of to-day and to-morrow. They came down firmly in favour of giving priority to spoken language which, given the use of modern methods, was within the reach of pupils of only moderate ability. This contention is borne out by the fact that the majority of member countries include a modern language in the compulsory sector of their continued education programmes. In some cases (e.g. Belgium, Switzerland, Wales and Ireland) this has, for a variety of reasons, to take the form of a second national language. In the Scandinavian countries, a modern language becomes optional in certain 8th and 9th-year "practical" or continued education classes. In France it does not figure in the scheme for the practical terminal classes, while in England, a modern language is taken by only 23 % of girls and 13 % of boys who leave at the end of the compulsory period.

(ii) *Civic and social education*

"Since the young people who are receiving continued education are all future citizens, civic and social education will be an integral part of the programme." In these words, the Interlaken Seminar gave clear recognition of the need for positive and realistic education for citizenship in a complex, changing and increasingly interdependent world. Their recommendation finds varying echoes in the curricula of many member countries, all of which include compulsory subjects which appear to pursue this objective. There is a clear tendency, as continued education pupils near the end of their compulsory schooling, for history and geography, treated as separate subjects in earlier years, to be replaced by wider, cross-disciplinary and more contemporary studies, variously labelled civics, current affairs or social studies, whose subject matter may or may not include a specific reference to history and geography. One example is to be found in the scheme of study recommended for the subject "Social and economic studies" in the Austrian Polytechnic Year. Against a background of 20th-century history, the teacher may make his own selection from a wide range of socio-economic topics in the light of the needs, interests and abilities of his pupils. These topics include various aspects of Austria's recent political, social and economic development, current economic structure and problems, and social co-operation and conflict at national, European and world level. The subject "World knowledge" *(Weltkunde)* is included in the curriculum for the 9th year of *Hauptschule* in Hesse (Federal Republic), and contains elements of history, geography and social studies. In the voluntary 8th to 10th years of the main school in Denmark, the subject "General knowledge" draws topics from history, geography, biology, vocational guidance, study of individual occupations, civics and teaching about the family. In England, where individual schools and teachers have considerable freedom to select the subject content appropriate to their pupils, the traditional subject labels of "History" and "Geography" may often cover a wide variety of contemporary social studies which, under the impetus of the Newsom Report and subsequent publications of the Schools Council are rapidly gaining ground as studies in their own right. The section called "Investigations" in the French terminal practical classes is similarly intended to take various aspects of modern society as its subject matter. The specific linking of geography with the

Highway Code in school curricula in the Netherlands draws attention to an aspect of to-day's motorised society likely to be of interest to most young people.

The great majority of member countries have therefore included some form of civic and social studies in their programmes for the young school leaver. But civic and social education is not necessarily guaranteed by curricular recognition, and depends equally on the methods of teaching and the extent to which the pupils themselves are actively involved. Some of the experiments in this direction will be referred to in Section 2 below.

(iii) *Moral and religious education*

Although each country has its own interpretation of the school's role in moral and/or religious education, most member countries include it as a compulsory element in their programmes. The Interlaken Seminar unanimously agreed "that all teachers openly or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, influence the pupils in their charge and that in the field of moral and religious education, nothing has so much influence as personal example. It follows then that it is of the greatest importance for teachers to have a personal integrity which is not only irreproachable in all respects but is also obvious to the pupils... This is a mighty challenge which can only be met with any reasonable prospect of success if the teacher continually remembers the responsibilities that his privileged position enables him to accept. To exert the greatest possible influence, moral or religious education must permeate the whole structure of the teaching syllabus... On the one hand, pupils must have the impression that they are free to turn to wise advisers whenever they have personal problems, and on the other they must become increasingly alive to the fact that the dignity and freedom of mankind are ultimate values. Here again, education must be an introduction to life."

(iv) *The vocational aspect*

The one clear fact about the last years of the continued education pupil's schooling is that they are the immediate preliminary to employment. The pupils know it and they look forward with varying degrees of expectation to getting a job and earning money, with all that it implies for becoming "grown-up" and increasingly independent. This tends to sharpen the tensions between "school" and "life", with the former seeming to become more and more irrelevant to the adult world when seen through the impatient eyes of youth. Only to a minority is prolonged traditional schooling acceptable because of family convention and an appreciation of its relevance to future professional status, security and rewards.

Allied to this is the widespread conviction among many educational policy-makers and educationists that job-orientated practical work is a valuable means of sustaining or even re-awakening the interest of the less gifted pupil in these final years of compulsory schooling. In some cases this has been reinforced by the labour market's demand for a supply of more or less skilled juveniles, mainly in the manual occupations, so that there seem to be strong arguments in favour of giving a definite vocational flavour to the shorter courses of post-primary education. In their various ways the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Italy embodied this thesis in their pre-reform school systems. It was equally firmly resisted by other countries (e.g. the Scandinavians), who held strongly to their convictions that the period of education was too short, in relation to the duration of subsequent working life, for the precious opportunities for life-orientated general education to be reduced by a premature preoccupation with training in vocational skills. In a sense, those two points of view respectively exemplified what might be called the economic-functional and the liberal/general theses of terminal elementary education. One need hardly add that they were rarely so sharply differentiated in practice.

The forces of economic and social change have tended to bring about a conciliatory modification of both positions. The need for a better-educated and more versatile labour force has tended to work against the premature and narrow orientation of the final years of compulsory schooling towards a specific level or type of employment. On the other hand, to young people kept longer in school, the prolongation of a general (in effect a predominantly literary) education has seemed less and less attractive.

Thus it is that the protagonists have increasingly come to advocate a longer and broader basis of general education for all pupils in the lower secondary age-group, while retaining, as far as possible, the motivational value of the work-orientated outlook. The general/liberal enthusiasts, on the other hand, have come to appreciate the demand of young people and their parents for an education which seems to them to be a realistic preparation for life after school, and one in which verbal facility and a capacity for handling abstractions are not the sole criteria of progress or educability.

In most continued education programmes, there is, therefore, a substantial pre-vocational element, in which three broad strands may be identified :

— a more or less explicit orientation towards a particular group of occupations ;

— an emphasis on developing attitudes, knowledge and skills which are broadly relevant to the pupil's future working life, but are not specific to any group of occupations ;

— provision within the school programme for pupils to gain first-hand experience of the work situation.

In practice, these strands are not mutually exclusive. One or more can be found in virtually all of the programmes described in Part II, Chapter 2 above.

(v) *Orientation towards a particular group of occupations*

In several countries, the pupil approaching his final years of compulsory schooling is offered a curriculum which, though still dominated by a core of general subjects, has nevertheless a perceptible pre-vocational flavour. In this, the basic intention would appear to be to combine an improved and extended base of general education with the opportunity for pupils to "taste" a variety of subjects and skills which have a clear relevance to specific sectors of working life. This pre-vocational sector is part preparatory, part diagnostic and part motivational. Preparatory in the sense that the subjects and skills learned will be useful in the pupil's future job ; diagnostic in that the pupil's performance in them will give significant indications of his interests and aptitudes ; motivational because, in the pupil's eyes, they may seem both practical and realistic because of their relevance to life after school.

Before their relatively recent reforms of school structures, junior vocational schools were an important element in the post-primary education in Belgium and the Netherlands. These schools were often geared to preparing their pupils for entry into specific fields of employment, and their curricula contained a substantial element of relevant training. In Belgium, the progressive development of the lower intermediate school *(école moyenne)* alongside, and often merging with the former vocational schools has led to the emergence of curricula which, while reducing narrow and premature specialisation, retain much of their motivational attraction. Thus, after a common first year a pupil may, among other alternatives, choose to spend one sixth of his weekly timetable on one of two broad technical options, each of which contains at least three pre-vocational "lines", to which others may be added in the light of the school's resources and local circumstances. The subjects studied are largely common to each line, but the teaching is given a particular bias according to the line chosen. In the third year, one third of the timetable is given to those options, while the "lines" take on a more direct relationship to fields of employment. It will be noted that, for such a curriculum to be realised in practice, the school, or local combination of schools, needs to be adequate in size and resources, to make the choice a reality.

A similar process of closer relationship between lower general and vocational schools may be observed in the Netherlands. After a first, or common "bridge" year, pupils follow curricula orientated towards one or more vocational sectors, with an increasingly explicit trade bias as successive stages of the course are reached. A significant difference is the assumption that for pupils with the lowest levels of attainment and previous educational handicap, a substantially greater proportion of the timetable will be devoted to the learning of practical, pre-vocational skills, with the objective of re-awaking interest and confidence in the general education sector of the curriculum.

An interesting example of a different approach is the programme for the voluntary 8th and 9th years in Denmark. With no tradition of junior vocational schools, the Danes have nevertheless appreciated the need for vocational "realism" if pupils are to be persuaded voluntarily to extend their schooling beyond the compulsory minimum. Here, students who have completed their 7th, or final, compulsory year may choose to spend nearly a quarter of their time on one of three groups of subjects, which may roughly be characterised as commercial, scientific/technological, and practical/manual in their vocational orientation.

The curriculum for the 9th compulsory year in the Swedish unitary school, with roughly two thirds of the time devoted to optional subjects with a clear vocational relevance in four of the nine courses available at this stage, shows the same recognition of the importance of vocational relevance. In the less mandatory and very much more flexible situation in the United Kingdom, a broadly common subject curriculum is followed by all pupils for the first three years ; thereafter those who have chosen to stay for a further two (including one voluntary) years may choose between curricula which are most frequently biased towards a group of industrial occupations (e.g. engineering) for boys, or towards nursing or secretarial work for girls.

In Italy where, before the emergence of the comprehensive middle school after the 1962 reforms, a variety of junior vocational schools characterised the post-elementary stage, the curriculum of the new comprehensive middle school appears to offer few concessions to the pre-vocational element. Only in the last year of the 3-year course does craft-work receive a marginal increase in the modest time-allocation given to it in the first two years. When the optional "after-school" element of the curriculum becomes more firmly established, it may be possible to offer a wider range of choice, and to add a more specific vocational orientation to the base of general education embodied in the main curriculum. The programme for the Austrian Polytechnic Year also makes provision for the addition of a number of optional subjects (shorthand, typewriting and foreign language), which can be accomodated within the timetable by a reduction in the time spent on the compulsory subjects.

Some implications of offering pupils a genuine choice of vocationally flavoured options should be noted. The first concerns the size of the school in which they are offered. If viable teaching groups are to be produced for, say, three options, then the number of pupils in each school year in which options are available will not fall short of 100, and must be correspondingly larger if more options are included. This, in turn would seem to require a minimum total enrolment of 300 in a 3-year school, of 500 in a 5-year school, and so on. Where the final year or years of the course containing the options extend beyond the minimum compulsory period (as in Belgium, Denmark and the United Kingdom), the size of the initial intake at the post-primary level may well have to be larger still unless the proportion of pupils staying on voluntarily is very high. The alternatives seem to be either the acceptance of smaller class sizes for the optional subjects, or combining pupils from different years in the same class.

The second and related implication concerns staffing, equipment and accommodation. Schools which have hitherto provided a general subject curriculum will need to recruit teachers of technical subjects and practical skills. Former junior vocational schools will on the other hand have to increase their complement of general subject teachers. Workshops, drawing offices, laboratories, typewriting rooms, domestic science centres and further general classrooms may have to be added to existing schools, or included in those which are newly built. With the accommodation will have to go the necessary equipment, which is often more expensive than traditional classroom furniture. The cost of these extra scarce resources, both human and material, can only be reasonably economic if they are used by adequate numbers of pupils to keep them fully employed.

These problems appear in their most acute form if each school is expected to provide pre-vocational options entirely within its own walls and from its own resources. If, however, a wider view is taken, they may well be mitigated. A number of schools in an area may each offer only one or two options, in which they may specialise, with pupils either spending one day per week, or completely transferring to the school which offers the pre-vocational subjects in which they are interested. Schools may either be incorporated in, or sited adjacent to technical colleges or other vocational training establishments, whose specialist staff and equipment may then be available to school pupils on a part-time basis. It is significant that a number of countries are looking to co-operation of this kind to provide a wider choice of vocationally-biased curricula for continued education pupils. In Sweden, those pupils who have made a definite choice of career, by the end of the 8th grade may, with the permission of the local school board, spend their final year of compulsory schooling in a vocational school. In certain States of the Federal Republic, pupils in their final compulsory year in the main school *(Hauptschule)* attend a vocational school *(Berufsschule)* for one day per week. A similar practice of day-release from schools to colleges of further education is growing in popularity in certain parts of the United Kingdom, because of its frequently beneficial effect on the motivation and attitudes of the pupils concerned. It can also form a valuable bridge between compulsory schooling and post-school vocational education and training. For such experiments to be fully successful, there must be close co-operation between the institutions concerned, especially in the joint planning and execution of the curriculum. Both partners may have to modify their traditional approaches in order to devise a programme which, though it is provided in two institutions, has a unified objective, and in which there are strong cross-links between its general and pre-vocational elements.

(vi) *The development of attitudes, knowledge and skills which are relevant to working life*

While not all member countries would agree on the desirability or feasibility of including strand (*a*) in the curriculum in any of the forms described, the proposition that the last years of compulsory school life should contain practical elements of broad relevance to life both as a young worker and a young citizen appears to command more general assent.

In some cases this might take the form of a broader interpretation of handicraft, a traditional feature of many curricula. The syllabus of handicraft for boys in the Austrian Polytechnic Year

exemplifies this approach. "Pupils", it says, "should acquire the ability to make the simplest things used in everyday life on the basis of working drawings and without help." But the scheme goes beyond the familiar practical hobby interest to stress the need for a scientific understanding of tools and processes, the inculcation of economic and ordered attitudes to workshop organisation, and to experience of various social relationships in the working situation (e.g. individual work, team work and assembly line work). The "workshop education" section of the programme for the work year in the Berne Canton of Switzerland, to which 75 % of the weekly timetable is devoted, introduces pupils to a variety of tools, materials and work organisation, together with technical drawing, so as to give both broad preparation for the general field of manual work and to build the foundation of practical hobby interests. In Austria, the corresponding syllabus for girls is strongly biased towards household interests by contrast ; girls in the Berne "Work Year" have some practical preparation for employment in the needle trades and other factory work in addition to cookery and domestic work.

A different approach is to be found in the French scheme for the terminal practical courses. This is explicitly conceived as a general preparation for working life and not as training for a particular occupation. Two sections of the curriculum—small-scale construction work, and systematic educative exercises—are designed to enable pupils to acquire versatile working skills. There is a substantial element which is common to both boys and girls, which covers practice with light tools, small soldering, electrical apparatus, etc., complemented by special schemes for each sex ; the boys work in metal, wood and building materials, and with machines, while the girls have tuition in fabrics, needlework, cooking and the use of domestic appliances. The type of educative exercises cited in the scheme include not only manipulation and display but also practice in the communication skills of speaking and writing in the working situation (e.g. report-writing, and the comprehension and transmission of instructions). There is a direct link here with the French thesis that all school pupils should, especially in the final years of compulsory schooling, be introduced to some technological matter which will combine a technical bias with genuine educational value [1].

(vii) *Information and first-hand experience of the work situation*

A frequent objective of continued education programmes in many member countries is that pupils, before they actually enter paid employment, should be given the fullest and most realistic insight into what it is really like to be young workers.

This may be given an explicit place and time-allocation in the curriculum (e. g. "Vocational information and guidance" in the Austrian Polytechnic Year, "Practical vocational guidance" in Sweden), or be expected to form an implicit element in other subjects or areas of study which are clearly preparatory to entry into working life (e.g. "Preparation for work" in North-Rhine Westphalia, *Betriebspraktikum* in Hesse, "Investigations" in France).

The content of these studies has two principle aspects : information and first-hand experience. The syllabus for "Occupational information" in the programme of the Austrian Polytechnic Year broadly typifies the scope of the first element. Its aim is to "familiarise the pupil... with the entrance requirements, character, advantages and disadvantages of the most important groups of occupations so as to facilitate the choice of a career and the psychological adjustment to the future occupation". Within this framework, conditions of work, the variety of work processes, wages and promotion prospects, industrial safety, and forms of social co-operation are among the topics singled out for special attention. In Austria, as in other countries, the specialist vocational guidance and placing services of the Ministry of Labour or its equivalent are seen as major sources of such information, and partners in the whole operation of keeping the schools fully abreast of the changing labour market [2]. In most countries, there is evidence of a rapid diversification in the media used for conveying this information. Not only is more careers literature, often attractively illustrated with photographs and cartoons, being produced for the less able pupil, but full advantage is being taken of the power of radio, films and television to bring into every school, however small or remote, a fuller picture of the working world outside the school's immediate locality. Although this wider knowledge may often foster unrealistic expectations, it can also be an essential means of enabling pupils to measure their own interests, abilities and attainments against the requirements of the working world, and therefore to find their own initial place in the fields of employment which are, in practice, open to them.

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1. For further details, see the report of the Seminar on "The Place of Technical Education in Secondary Education", Sèvres 1965. EGT (65), Stage XX-3. Council of Europe, Strasbourg, February 1966.

2. For further information see Reuchlin, *Pupil Guidance : Facts and Problems*, Education in Europe Series, No. II-3, Strasbourg 1965.

Despite the value of these new media, several countries, especially the Scandinavian group, have felt that they still suffer from the disadvantage of conveying only second-hand information and other people's impressions of what it is like to be a young worker. They therefore attach great importance to giving pupils some first-hand experience of employment during their final years at school. In Sweden "all pupils of the new comprehensive (unitary) school must, in the 8th grade, take part in so-called 'practical vocational guidance' regardless of the options that have been made, or of the stream to be chosen in grade 9. This means that the pupil will spend three weeks at different places of work in order to acquire some experience of different occupations... Before the pupils undertake this training, they will already have received some preliminary vocational guidance in their civics classes" [1]. This emphasis on direct experience often transcends national differences in school systems. The programme for the vocational selection classes *(Berufswahlklassen)* in the Swiss Canton of Basle contains provision for a 14-day period of works experience to let the young person experience the atmosphere on the spot for himself. In certain schools in the State of Hesse (Federal Republic of Germany) similar experiments are in progress. In one case [1], the works experience period is prefaced by a week's residential course, attended by 9th year school leavers and their teachers, at which representatives from firms give preparatory lectures and lead discussions with pupils. This is followed by a two-week period during which groups of pupils spend from Monday to Friday working half-time in particular firms, each of which is large enough to offer four main lines of employment experience (the production line, the offices, the technical stores and drawing offices), and the kindergarten and medical services maintained by the company. Each pupil spends the first week on one specific job which he chooses himself, and the second on the other three lines. Saturdays are spent back at school in discussing the week's experience with the teachers, who themselves spend part of the time in the firms with their pupils. After this broad introduction to a variety of factory occupations, and on the basis of further vocational guidance, pupils spend a further two weeks working full-time in the jobs of their choice. For this, the field is much wider than the firms taking part in the introductory period. It should be stressed that this is an experiment and not necessarily typical of developments in the Federal Republic of Germany or elsewhere, although it has much in common with general practice in Sweden. It does illustrate the different educational purposes which, in a carefully planned programme, periods of working experience can serve.

To make such experience available to all continued education pupils, rather than on a small experimental basis, has formidable implications, which, as yet, have only been faced in Sweden, where, with close and continuous co-operation between the schools and the Labour Relations Board, great efforts have been made to give pupils a range of diagnostic employment periods corresponding to their interests. Many countries have some way to go before sufficient employers are both able and willing to receive large numbers of school pupils for short periods of what is essentially an educational experience. Systems of insurance against industrial injury, the laws regulating juvenile employment, trade union practices and attitudes often need modification in face of this new development, while the schools have similarly to adjust their curricula, timetables and staffing arrangements.

Pending such changes, many member countries lay great stress on the educative value of a planned programme of visits to a variety of industrial, commercial and service undertakings, where pupils can at least have some first-hand acquaintance with the atmosphere of work and build up their own picture of economic life as a background to their own vocational choice. Here again, there is much work to be done by the schools in preparing and following up such a programme if it is to be a progressive and purposeful educational experience. Though reduced in scale, some of the problems of the longer work periods described above are also present here, and can only be overcome by close co-operation between schools, the public employment and labour agencies and employers, a process to which all have much to contribute and from which they have much to gain.

Finally, the valuable contribution which vocational schools and colleges of further education can make to this process of vocational preparation must also be stressed. They occupy a key position between the general schools on the one hand, and the world of employment on the other. They are educational institutions whose courses have a strong practical flavour, whose accommodation and equipment are half-way between the class-room and the office or workshop. They are closely in touch with the changing industrial scene. Mention has already been made of the practice in some countries of including part-time attendance at vocational schools in their continued education programmes. Though not a substitute for first-hand experience of employment, such developments could well prove a useful and permanent feature of practical vocational guidance, since they help to familiarise pupils with the opportunities for further education and training after they have left school and entered employment.

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1. (English text) *Educational Policy and Planning in Sweden*, OECD, Paris 1967, p. 75.
2. Langen, The Albert Einstein School (combined *Hauptschule* and *Realschule)*.

(viii) *Kinesthetic and aesthetic education*

It is not unusual for educationists to distinguish between general education, vocational education and education for leisure. These are understandable distinctions, springing from a realistic appreciation of the changing balance between work and leisure which technological advance has brought in its train. The Interlaken Seminar, however, after stressing that (education for) leisure must play a part in continued education, went on to recommend that "education for a healthy use of leisure can only be conceived in relation to other subjects of that education. Thus, leisure activities and school activities can mutually support each other". In making such a recommendation, the delegates acknowledged that education for leisure could no longer be confined to a separate sector of the curriculum as a sort of "frill" or luxury but should be seen as an integral part of a preparation for life in modern society.

Physical education (sometimes described as gymnastics or sports) is included by all member countries in their continued education programmes, although there is considerable variation in its content. The general trend would seem to be away from set regimes of class instruction towards free-standing exercises, work with many kinds of gymnastic apparatus, and games. Free movement and creative, expressive dance to music are gaining in popularity with girls. In this, as in other sectors of the curriculum, there are growing opportunities for variety and choice by the pupil, reinforced by improved accommodation and equipment.

One can hardly overstress the importance of an imaginative and up-to-date scheme of physical education for continued education pupils. As the Newsom Report (England) [1] pointed out, "Most healthy young people enjoy being physically active ; many find in sport satisfying exercise, fun, comradeship and a sense of achievement. We believe that many more could do so, who are at present underestimated and under-challenged. For some boys, particularly, self-esteem is linked with ideas of physical strength, prowess and daring — and where appropriate outlets are lacking in overcrowded urban areas, explosively violent behaviour may result." The report goes on to warn, however, that not all pupils enjoy these pursuits. "Slowness of mental reaction, poor co-ordination, differences of physique and temperament, timorousness, fears of looking foolish may all be limiting factors. Girls who, out of school, will energetically dance the evening away appear reluctant in the gymnastics lesson, and take whatever evasive action they can, 'forgetting' (to bring) their kit, feigning illness, or simply staying away. This is a matter not only of limited skill but, frequently, of growing distaste for what they regard as childish activities."

This reference to the increased feeling of being "grown up" is doubly significant. Most adolescent girls are anxious to look attractive to their peers and to the opposite sex. To bring them to realise the connection between beauty and physical well-being is the new task of physical education. It must also be able to offer them an introduction to "grown up" pursuits. If the traditional team games do not appeal, it may be that dance, or dance drama, swimming, skating, archery or fencing, ski-ing or horse riding (all of them popularised by television) may do so. All these forms of healthful physical exercise, together with others such as camping, cycling, climbing, sailing, canoeing and gliding have one vital characteristic in common. They are not mere school exercises, but are activities which more and more young people can carry on after they have left school through various youth and adult organisations, thus bridging the gap between physical recreation at school and its continuance in adult life. This extension of school-awakened interests and skills into post-school life can be much encouraged if there is planned and positive co-operation between schools and youth and adult organisations, especially in the field of physical recreation. The expertise and excellent facilities of some commercial providers of outdoor and indoor sporting pursuits can often be made available, with suitable safeguards against undesirable exploitation, to schools wishing to develop a varied and non-traditional programme of recreative activities which will endure into the post-school lives of their pupils.

To encourage young people to make good use of their growing physical powers has another aspect, especially when they remain at school for a longer period after the onset of sexual puberty. Since this in its turn is occurring at an earlier age, the problems faced by the school are correspondingly multiplied with the growing emphasis of the mass media and the commercial purveyors of so-called teenage culture on sexual precocity. Although the division of responsibility in these matters between parents, church and school remain a matter to be decided by individual conscience and religious faith, there would be few who would deny that the schools have some part to play. In practice, this may range from straightforward, non-committal instruction about the physiological changes accompanying maturation to frank yet sympathetic guidance and discussion on personal relationships between boys and girls. The line between religious and moral education on the one hand and instruction in personal hygiene may, for the teacher faced with a class of young people

1. Op. cit., pp. 137-138.

less influenced by the traditional economic, familial or religious sanctions, be hard to distinguish. Here one can only record that member countries are in line with their varied and distinctive traditions, facing up to this formidable challenge, although they are not always helped by official reticence, which is all too understandable in view of the acute public controversy aroused at all levels when such issues are discussed. Suffice it to say that the assumption that moral education is always and inevitably an appendage of religious education is not without its challengers in some member countries. There are those who would contend that, in a pluralistic society, it is the function of the teacher, inter alia, to help young people to develop moral and ethical criteria by which they can judge and choose for themselves. Others would recognise the formidable challenge which such a degree of judgment and choice poses for the adolescent. For young people of limited intelligence and social experience, the demands of freedom and choice may well prove excessive. Since many continued education pupils share these limitations, and live in a world where the attractions of short-term satisfactions are most potent, the problem may seem more acute than it is for their more intelligent socially disciplined peers. But if continued education is really to be an honest preparation for adult life, these human needs cannot be ignored.

It is but a short step from these matters to education in the musical and plastic arts. These again, find a frequent place in member countries' programmes of continued education. The objective, understandably, is to introduce even the humblest citizens to the basic vocabulary of these arts which will enable them to share in the cultural heritage of their native country in particular, and of Western European civilisation at large. In one sense, this is a facet of the perennial problem with which abbreviated compulsory education has always faced the educator. In the absence of adequate provision for adult or life-long education, to what extent should one strive to include such an introduction within the initial period of compulsory education, even though many areas of aesthetic and cultural experience can only be fully entered and explored in adult life ? Although the time devoted to music and the plastic arts in primary schools varies considerably from one country to another, there is a general tendency for these activities to be given a larger place in the timetable. For younger children music consists mainly of singing and learning notation and rhythm through the use of simple wind and percussion instruments ; drawing, painting and modelling introduce them to artistic creation, and it is generally recognised that they enjoy exploring and handling these media of imaginative experience.

When they reach adolescence, however, a change often takes place, especially in their attitudes to music as a school subject, which becomes in the eyes of many boys and girls, both boring and "square". This is especially so when music in school is restricted to choral singing, which runs into considerable difficulties when the boys' voices begin to change. Moreover, since the "pop" revolution, fathered by the disc and the transistor radio, with its noise, its rythm and its electronic gadgetry, there is often a great gap between music in school and music outside. Not all teachers are either able or willing to bridge this gap between their pupils' tastes and the much more varied and demanding forms of music to which they feel they ought to introduce them. If, in addition, the music teachers have to contend, as they so often do, with poor accommodation and equipment, then their task is indeed a difficult one. And yet there are schools where these difficulties have been overcome. Although there is no sovereign recipe for success, enthusiasm can often be rekindled by teaching young people to play a variety of instruments, to form brass bands, bugle bands, piano accordian ensembles, orchestras and jazz or beat groups, all of which can play an active part in the life of the school. They can also re-awaken incentive to learn how to read music and to master its simpler forms. The guitar class, whose pupils have made their own instruments, is not to be despised as a piece of continued education.

The appeal of the plastic arts to the ordinary pupil is also often blunted by the narrow range of media used. If they remain essentially a paper-and-pencil exercise carried out at ordinary desks in ordinary classrooms, they can often seem boring or childish. If the scope of the work is to extend beyond this to painting, modelling, sculpture, carving, pottery, weaving, embroidery, basketry, fabric printing and the many other arts and crafts which offer more exciting and creative opportunities, they must be taught, accommodated and equipped. Freedom to choose, to improvise and experiment will often be as important to some pupils as precision and craftsmanship may be to others. "Art is not only a matter of emotions, and for many boys and girls it can offer a rewarding discipline of hand, eye and intellect. Here is a training in perception and selection, a way looking and a means of communication. Film-making is a particularly interesting example of a creative craft which combines exacting technical skills with invention, visual imagination and selective judgment. To make people more observant of the world about them, more responsive and more discriminating, is potentially to enrich their lives a great deal. It also has a significance for our standards of living and the quality of our industrial products. In school, creative enjoyment may well be the mainspring, and perhaps for the majority of older boys and girls who choose art subjects the work will be at a semi-recreative level. For some, however, it can clearly form part of a group of studies

which will have broad vocational relevance. Design and function, decoration, display and communication, have special significance for those who may one day work in shops, in commerce, in the dress and clothing and furnishing trades, in textiles, building and printing ; and not least, for the future housewife [1]."

(ix) *Education for home-making*

Far-reaching as technological and social change may be, it seems unlikely, in the foreseeable future, that it will fundamentally alter the fact that the great majority of the schoolgirls and schoolboys of to-day will eventually become wives, husbands, mothers and fathers, making and maintaining a home for themselves and their children.

Some aspects, spiritual, moral and material, of education for these roles have already been touched on in this chapter. If what follows appears to concentrate unduly on the girl's role in what is essentially a partnership, it reflects an emphasis which is apparent in most continued education curricula. Under various titles such as housecraft, domestic science, recognition is given to the modern girl's appreciation that, whether she marries early or not, she is likely to have a vital part in making and running a home. Both in single-sex and mixed schools, such studies are generally confined to the girls, although there is a marked tendency in some countries, especially in Scandinavia, to make them available to boys, too, thereby recognising the changing nature of the marriage partnership in a world where many wives as well as husbands have careers of their own, and gainful employment outside the home.

In the past, and still in some countries, the domestic crafts have fulfilled a dual purpose in school curricula. They have prepared young women both for life as wives and mothers, and for gainful employment in some form of domestic service. As, with technological advance and changing social and economic relationships, the latter aspect slowly diminishes in importance, the former takes on a new significance. The advent of labours-aving domestic appliances (the washing machine, the vacuum cleaner, the gas or electric cooker), pre-packaged and semi-prepared foods, good mass produced clothing etc., has taken much of the time-consuming drudgery out of housewifery. In its place has come the growing importance of the housewife as the spender of a substantial part of the family income, a fact that has speedily been recognised by the producers and advertisers of the products and services designed to attract her favour.

In face of these developments, the traditional domestic science sector of the curriculum is tending to change. Although teaching of the separate crafts, such as cookery, laundry and needlework are still prominent, there is a growing emphasis in some countries on giving girls a broader and more realistic view of home management. Thus, in some English schools, groups of girls are given the experience of managing the apartment or flat which is incorporated in their school's domestic science accommodation for a period of up to a week. In Denmark, at the experimental Youth Town at Rodøvre, pupils will live in family groups of four, and be responsible, among other things, for cooking, cleaning, housekeeping and generally managing their own lives, including their spending, for the two weeks of their stay at the Centre. Budgeting of time and toil as well as money is an increasingly frequent feature. Home maintenance now includes the care and understanding of the widening range of domestic appliances, of man-made and other fabrics, and of the proliferating range of paints, plastics and other decorative materials. But before such things make their appearance in the house they must be chosen, and sensible choice can only be based on sound knowledge and an ability to weigh up the relative merits of what is often a bewildering range of alternative and often skilfully advertised products. There are, therefore, considerable opportunities for the development of applied household science. As the Newsom Report (England) points out, such a subject might well include "studies of heating and lighting, electrical appliances, detergents and polishes, natural and man-made fibres, the constitutents of foodstuffs, the effect of chemical additives, the properties of aspirin and other commonly-used medicaments" [2]. There are various levels at which such studies can be undertaken, the scientific or consumer aspects being emphasised according to the abilities and interests of the students.

Child care is another traditional theme which is taking on new dimensions. To its well-established topics of infant physiology, health and nutrition are being added to elements of child psychology, reaching out to children's behaviour, their emotional needs, their ways of learning, and the educative value of talk and play both with adults and other children. Opportunities for older pupils to visit and have longer periods of practical experience in kindergartens, nursery schools and welfare clinics are a valuable practical aspect of this type of education. One facet of the programme

1. Newsom Report (England), op. cit., p. 182.
2. Newson report, op. cit., p. 156.

for the Berne "Work Year" *(Werkjahr)* offers an interesting if not unique example of the practical involvement of pupils in learning about children's needs. The boys make modern toys and other play apparatus, while the girls make soft toys for young children ; both boys and girls deliver them to the nurseries and kindergartens, meeting and playing with the children—an excellent and purposeful rehearsal for their future roles as parents.

But not all teenagers look on parenthood and family responsibilities as an immediate prospect. Before these arrive, there are at least a few years of young manhood or young womanhood, which are a period of growing financial independance, of intense living, of freedom and experiment. Girls, especially, may see it as a time of emergence into their adult personalities. It is not surprising to find that conventional domestic science is sometimes being replaced, or supplemented in the curriculum by subjects, usually in the optional sector, with titles like, "teenage", "beauty culture" (Denmark) and "poise and personality" (England), which seek to build on teenagers' natural interest in dress, personal appearance and social behaviour. As in the case of music quoted above, the teacher's objective here is to lead pupils on from their own immediate interests and preoccupations to the wider possibilities and responsibilities of adult life.

2. *A note on method*

(i) Faced with such a diversity of ways in which the aims of continued education might be realised in practice, the Interlaken Seminar recommended that "the method must be flexible, and separation between the traditional subjects should, as far as possible, disappear. New motivations will be sought, corresponding to the interests of the pupils, with special reference to current topics, and making use of centres of interest, study themes and manual activities. Adolescents will find the work introducing them to a vocation, which will often be the focal point of their education, a particularly timely stimulant. The school will be linked with life by means of visits, practical courses, surveys and participation by the pupils in social activities outside the classroom. The outer world will also enter the school by modern audio-visual methods. Adolescents must not find themselves in a situation in school which will remind them of their earlier difficulties ; the classroom atmosphere will be free and open, and will encourage exchanges and discussion. The syllabus, therefore, counts less than the general spirit underlying the teaching. This syllabus, while it provides a balanced culture, will be adapted to local needs, and should give adolescents the opportunity of dealing with problems that they will soon encounter in adult society."

(ii) This is an important statement, whose principal points need to be distinguished for further emphasis.

It recognises that the recipients of continued education are emergent adults, and therefore much more involved in and aware of the contemporary world than they have been as children. As such they will be reaching out for a new view of society to match their increasing maturity and desire for independence. They will be less ready to accept the validity, and utility of the separate subject disciplines which are so important to the academically trained. "Subjects" will be judged by their degree of relevance to life as it is now, and as it seems likely to be in the foreshortened vision of the adolescent. What has subject study to contribute to the solution of the personal behavioural, sexual and vocational problems of the adolescent ? Little, indeed, for the pupil of average ability and expectations, unless the teaching can offer signposts to present-day actuality.

Classroom instruction, embodied in "chalk and talk" will therefore be of only limited utility and may, at worst, seem a mere continuation of a scholastic regime which will, for the majority, be redolent of an earlier sense of failure and rejection. Not only, therefore, must the outside world penetrate the artificially abstract world of the classroom, but the classroom's inhabitants, both teachers and pupils, must be outgoing, seeking, by first hand contact, taking the extra-mural world as their laboratory and text book.

Active involvement must therefore be the permeating motif of continued education method. Inside the classroom, this means a modification of the traditionally didactic function of the teacher, of his authoritarian and separate role, and a reaching forward to a combination of the relationship between a good youth leader and his members and of the adult education tutor and his students. In practice, this means a willingness of both teacher and taught to respect each other's independence, experience and rights to their own views. Discussion, as a means to adolescent learning, will be of paramount importance in the progress from self-regarding childhood to other-regarding adulthood.

"Practical" work, involving the pupils' eyes, tongues, manual and other physical skills must be called into action, not only with an eye to their vocational future, but because they offer ways to achievement and success which are often more attainable and more meaningful for the ordinary pupil than the traditional targets of scholastic success.

PART III

THE CONTINUED EDUCATION OF APPRENTICES

1. *The background*

(i) Young people passing through an apprenticeship are engaged in a learning process. At its outset, they are adolescents who have just finished their full-time education ; when it ends they are young adults whom society expects to have acquired sufficient knowledge and training for them to function as skilled workers.

(ii) If there is learning, there must be teaching. In medieval times, this was provided by the master craftsman who contracted to pass on the mysteries of his trade to the apprentice, the whole process being carefully regulated by the Guild. The rapid spread of industrialisation, especially in the present century, has not only increased the overall demand for skilled workers but has also generated needs for different types and levels of skill which the older system has been progressively less able to meet. True, the apprentice must still learn, but what he learns, how and when he learns it, from whom and for how long, have all been subject to constant adaptation and change, whose effects are only partially disguised by the retention of much of the apparatus and terminology of the traditional apprenticeship system.

(iii) Influenced by laissez-faire philosophy, it was a long time before the State found it necessary to intervene directly in the process, and even then the first moves were often made through those of its agencies (Ministries of Labour and the like) chiefly concerned with employer-worker relationships and the labour market. Thus, as early as the latter half of the 19th century labour legislation in Austria (1859) and Germany (1869) included provision for the regulation of apprenticeship. The tide of reform which rose after the first world war produced new apprenticeship acts in many countries, including Denmark (1921), the Netherlands (1919) and France (1919). The period since the second world war has seen further apprenticeship legislation in Denmark (1956) and Switzerland (1965), while France, the Netherlands, Norway, Great Britain and Northern Ireland have either passed or are actively preparing new laws concerned with the vocational training of young people.

(iv) The extent and nature of State intervention through its labour agencies has differed over time, and from country to country ; the most common objective has been the protection of the apprentice by limiting his hours and regulating his conditions of work, and by seeking to ensure that his employer provides him with the necessary training. In 8 of the countries covered by this study, it is now legally compulsory for employers to provide training for their apprentices ; where there is no general compulsion, an obligation to provide it is a common feature of apprenticeship contracts. Whichever method has been adopted, Ministries of Labour have long played a major role in securing and regulating the training of apprentices on the job by their employers.

(v) As early as the end of the first world war, however, the need for the education authorities, both public and private, to join the employers' and the States' labour agencies in providing learning opportunities for apprentices became apparent. Until then, they had been mainly preoccupied with their principal role of providing full-time general education, predominantly at elementary level, for an ever-increasing proportion of Europe's children up to the age when they entered employment. Their first entry into the continued education of apprentices did not at first call for a marked change of role, since the prime need was for an improvement of basic literacy and numeracy sufficient to enable the young worker to meet the demands of his training. Nor did it initially call for the creation of new institutions, since the instruction could be given in existing elementary school buildings in the evenings or at week-ends by day-school teachers—a form of continued education which still persists in even the most developed countries, and plays an especially vital part in the poorer and less developed.

(vi) The next stage of demand, though still mainly outside working hours, was for instruction in subjects much more directly related to the apprentice's occupation, which had not formed part of his previous full-time schooling, and which his employer could not provide. In some cases the education authorities were called on for theoretical instruction, notably in the physical sciences and mathematics applicable to a particular trade. It was but a short step from this to being asked for instruction in actual job-skills like technical drawing and workshop practice to supplement the inadequate training given by the industrial employer. Comparable demands came from apprentices or their equivalents working in commercial firms, for instruction in typewriting, shorthand, book-keeping, foreign languages and other occupational skills. These, too, could be and were to some extent provided outside working hours in existing institutions, but they called increasingly for specialist equipment and teaching not usually to be found in institutions whose prime task was general education.

(vii) The demand for new institutions specifically designed to provide varying mixture of general, theoretical and practical education for young skilled workers was considerably reinforced

in some countries when it was made legally compulsory for all apprentices to undertake part-time schooling in addition to their practical training at work. Where, as in Germany from 1919 onwards, there was a further statutory requirement that they should be released from employment during working hours for this purpose, separate institutions with their own premises, equipment and staff were a logical consequence.

(viii) The economic depression and relative stagnation which troubled so many European countries between the two world wars slowed down, or even reversed many promising trends, not least the spread of day-release. The Astier Law of 1919 in France, and the Education Act of 1918 in Great Britain, which sought to make it compulsory for all young workers under 18, were not implemented. Training in industry was frequently inadequate to meet the demand for skilled workers, and in several countries, notably Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and France, the education authorities, both public and private, developed full-time vocational schools which, by providing a substantial amount of practical training for specific occupations, were virtually a substitute for apprenticeship. Although strictly speaking these schools lie outside the scope of this study, it should be noted that they still make a substantial contribution to the preparation of young people for skilled employment in many countries. Recent and current reforms in post-primary and secondary education are broadening the general education and reducing practical training elements in their curricula, but they still retain considerable popularity with many pupils and parents. They are, on the other hand, relatively expensive to build and equip, and it has not generally proved possible to provide them in sufficient quantity to meet the rapidly rising demand of the last twenty years. They have also been criticised for failing to keep pace with changing industrial requirements.

(ix) Since the second world war, there has been a rapid and spectacular growth in apprentice training on the so-called "dual system" under which the main responsibility for practical training lies with the employer, while the public education authorities provide part-time continued education designed to complement and to broaden the apprentice's learning on the job. Either by extending or enforcing compulsion or by encouraging voluntary action through financial and other incentives, many governments have sought to ensure that this part-time continued education shall be given, without loss of wages, during working hours. In England and Wales only 42,000 young workers enjoyed day-release in 1938. By 1968 their numbers had grown to 644,000, the great majority being in apprenticeship or other similar jobs. Many countries experienced a comparable or even greater rate of increase as a higher proportion of young workers entered skilled rather than unskilled work and as apprenticeship and other forms of traineeship demanding substantial training and related education were extended to cover a wider occupational spectrum.

2. *The institutions*

(i) The fact there are common trends discernible in many member countries does not imply any uniformity in their pattern of response, and this is apparent in the wide variety of institutions currently providing part-time continued education for apprentices.

(ii) Chronologically the earliest, and in a sense the "purest" form is the part-time vocational school *(Berufsschule)* to be found in the Federal Republic, Austria and in certain cantons of Switzerland. Part-time attendance during working hours is compulsory in all three countries, and day-release students therefore constitute the major part of their clientele. A relatively high proportion of young workers enter apprenticeships or traineeships, which are available over a wide sector of the occupational spectrum. Although there are significant differences of emphasis, their essential purpose is aptly summarised in section 146 of the Austrian School Reorganisation Act of 1962 as "to further and supplement the education of young persons serving an apprenticeship... or articled under a legally equivalent contract of service, by means of part-time professional training appropriate to their vocations". To this extent, their contribution to the apprentice's overall learning is clearly defined. It assumes that the major part of his practical instruction will be gained on the job, but that this needs rounding off by complementary and concurrent education and training in separate institutions provided and controlled by the education authorities.

(iii) Two further characteristics of *Berufsschulen* need to be noted. The first is that they operate at craft level. Although their students sometimes include, as in the Federal Republic, young unskilled workers, they do not cater for would-be technicians and technologists, whose technical education is generally provided in separate and higher-level institutions. Successful completion of an apprenticeship and a *Berufsschule* course may well be a passport to continued education at these higher levels (e.g. the "second way" in the Federal Republic), but is must be undertaken in a different institution. The second characteristic is that they tend to be specialist institutions, deriving their specialism from the occupational sector from which they draw their students. Although the degree of specialisation is conditioned by such factors as the variety of local industry and the size of the population to be served, it is fairly common to find separate *Berufsschulen* for the

wood and metal trades, for commerce, and for domestic occupations co-existing in the same urban area.

(iv) In other countries, even those operating the "dual" system, the institutional context of part-time further education for apprentices is not so clear cut. In Great Britain, the majority of apprentices receive their part-time continued education at technical colleges or colleges of further education which provide full-time and part-time courses for both boys and girls. Although each college has its specialist technical departments (e.g. for engineering, commerce, building and construction, the domestic arts etc.) they are part of the same institution under the same principal. They are also unusual in having departments which offer full-time courses of general education which qualify successful students for direct entry to universities and other branches of higher education.

It should be noted that these colleges do not confine their offering to craft level courses. Although the trend in recent years has been to concentrate provision for higher technicians and technologists in separate institutions (Polytechnics), even when this policy is fully implemented, the local technical college will continue to offer an unusually wide range of courses up to and including the first major stages of those leading to technician qualifications, not only in the main industrial technologies but also in the commercial, personal and professional service sectors. In many cases, the successful completion of such courses qualifies students for entry to courses or institutions of higher technical and academic education. In this, they would appear to go some way towards meeting one of the recommendations of the Baden Seminar that "continued education as a whole must provide room for types of training elastic enough to enable young people, according to their aptitudes, opportunities and ambitions, to transfer to other kinds of education or to other occupations, or to move on to more advanced training".

(v) Institutions serving both full-time and part-time students are fairly common elsewhere, although there are considerable differences of purpose, balance and function. The lower technical schools *(l.b.o.)* in the Netherlands provide part-time courses for some apprentices as well as full-time vocational courses for 12 to 16-year-old pupils ; others may attend a separate vocational school for young workers *(strekeskole)*. In Sweden, the municipal workshop schools, though offering full-time courses which are essentially an alternative to the early stages of apprenticeship in industry, also give theoretical instruction to apprentices attending for one day per week. The French colleges of technical education which have evolved from the former apprenticeship centres to become part of the upper stage of secondary education are intended to perform a similar function, though here the full-time students are usually over 16. At the Baden Seminar, the study group particularly concerned with apprentices was strongly in favour of part-time courses being provided as far as possible in institutions which also catered for full-time students "so that the two groups of young people might have the benefit of the same staff and equipment". It should perhaps be added that the undoubted social and educational advantages of such an arrangement are not automatically realised by putting full-time and part-time students under the same roof. It needs deliberate and sustained effort by all concerned to maximise opportunities for contact between the two both inside and outside the classroom, never an easy task where classes tend to be based on occupational groups with separate timetables for full-time and part-time students. It is also difficult for the teacher to build up the same close relationship with students whom he may see for only one or two hours a week as he can with his full-time students. The latter also tend to take the lead in any extra curricular activities (sports teams, clubs, societies and social events) which develop in the institution, while the part-time student may prefer to find the main focus of his social life elsewhere.

(vi) The education authorities frequently enter into some form of partnership with employers to set up what are in effect joint institutions. In many countries including those with State-provided vocational schools, large undertakings and trade associations have their own training sections, centres and schools to secure their own supply of skilled workers. With the growth of State participation in education and training, various patterns of co-ordination and co-operation have evolved. In the Federal Republic, 23 large industrial firms have their own *Berufsschulen* which compass the whole learning process by providing practical, theoretical and general education. They have to meet the requirements of the appropriate *Land* Education Ministry in such matters as curricula and teachers' qualifications and they are open to inspection by the education authorities. In Sweden, company schools *(företagskolen)* are maintained by some large firms, and offer a complete programme. In the "built-in" workshop schools *(inbyggdaskolen)*, created by agreement between the municipal workshop school and an industrial firm, the former provides the theoretical and the latter the practical instruction. In both types, however, apprentices, though receiving a normal wage, remain under the supervision of the education authorities and are regarded as full-time students. The schools are subsidised by the State in each case.

(vii) In industries where some firms are too small or too specialised to provide an adequate range of practical training, the State may take on the responsibility for supplying the deficiency.

Since the passage of the 1964 Industrial Training Act in the United Kingdom, certain technical colleges, in co-operation with Industrial Training Boards, have developed one-year full-time courses of integrated practical, theoretical and general education for first-year apprentices, especially in the engineering and construction industries. The full economic cost of the practical instruction element is paid to the local education authorities by the employer, who recoups it from the levy which he pays to the training board ; the theoretical and general element is provided by the education authorities without further charge.

(viii) In countries where the education authorities' institutions for part-time education and training are less developed, industry has tended to take responsibility for the whole of the apprentice's learning process, either within their own undertaking or at schools financed and maintained by trade associations. I.R.I., the giant public holding company in Italy, has centres in 6 major cities administered by its own training agency (IFAP). Schools provided by Chambers of Commerce are a well-established part of the training scene in France. Even in Switzerland, where the federal and cantonal authorities have a well-established network of institutions for training and related education, both industrial and commercial trade associations have set up their own vocational schools on a supra-cantonal basis. Because of their special needs and the size, number and location of their plants, nationalised undertakings, especially in coal, electricity, gas and railways have frequently developed national and regional training centres of their own.

(ix) As between one member country and another, and within each individual country, the public education authorities have thus developed a considerable variety of institutions, often shaped empirically to meet the continuously changing needs of the economy and its young workers and future citizens. The contribution that they are most frequently asked for by industry is to teach apprentices such theoretical and general subjects as will complement and fill out their practical training and experience on the job. But as will be seen later, there are few institutions which can now, if they ever could, confine themselves to this apparently straightforward task. If employers do not expect the institution to provide supplementary, practical training, then the education authorities, with their broader view of both the economy's and the students' changing needs, may well feel bound to supply it, and to staff and equip its institutions accordingly. Again, although employers may not give it high priority, the continuing personal, social and general development of the student worker is bound to have some place in any educational programme for young people, and one for which educational authorities must themselves be especially responsible. The way in which the institutions attempt to meet the challenge of these varying needs will be examined below.

3. *The time-frame*

(i) An important parameter of continued education is the time available for it. This, in turn, is the product of three factors : the length of the training period, the length of the working week and year, and the duration of the school-year and school-day.

The median length of apprenticeship in member countries is three years, but there is considerable scatter round this median point, from 1 year for some traineeships to 4 or 5 years in highly skilled trades. There are conflicting tendencies at work. In countries where apprenticeship systems are either being built up for the first time, or reconstructed on more modern lines, the duration is tending to reach or exceed the median, while in those (e.g. the United Kingdom) where it has traditionally been longer, the trend is towards a reduction to 5 and 4 years. The age at which young people end their compulsory schooling, or, by voluntary extension, reach the level of attainment or qualification required for entry, sets the starting point for the process, while the age at which, either legally or by social convention, they reach adult status is the end. The trend towards a longer school life has already been noted, and in some countries this has been matched by an upward adjustment in either the legal or conventional age at which an apprenticeship may begin. 15 or 16 are common in the more developed countries, and 16 may well be the norm by the end of the 1970s, if not before. Compulsory military service, beginning at 18 or 19, has often determined the other side of the bracket, and the earlier maturation and financial independence of young people may well confirm this as the age at which they expect to receive full adult income and status. For a time, this may run counter to industrial and technological factors making for extended training, but the weight of this could well be progressively shifted from apprenticeship to the training and re-training of adults. At the present time, those countries where part-time education is compulsory for all apprentices, and in many where it is voluntary, the terminal age is 18. An average apprenticeship period of 2 to 3 years may well be the outcome of these developments.

(ii) Although the working hours of apprentices are legally restricted in many member countries, they have benefited from the progressive shortening both of the working week and, through the extension of paid holidays, of the working year. Although the pace of progress has been most rapid in manufacturing industry and other sectors where workers have been effectively organised

for collective bargaining, it has quickened in many occupations (e.g. the distributive trades and other service industries) where long hours and minimal holiday have been common.

(iii) The length of time spent off the job and in educational institutions is, on the other hand, tending to increase. From one point of view, this could be regarded as a further deduction from the time potentially available for training on the job. The accelerating replacement of evening and week-end classes by release during working hours has already been noted and it seems very probable that this trend will continue. In those countries (the Federal Republic, Austria, Switzerland) where it is effectively compulsory, it takes the form of release for one full day per week. This pattern is increasingly regarded as a desirable objective in other countries, including the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. Evening attendance for 3, 4 or even 5 nights per week is still widespread, and is likely to persist until sufficient day institutions are available and all employers can be compelled or persuaded to make day-release a condition of employment for all their young skilled workers. In Iceland, the burden of evening or week-end attendance is alleviated by reducing the apprentice's working week by up to 10 hours, and some Training Boards in the United Kingdom have adopted a similar policy, extending it to time spent on correspondence courses. In the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, students may be required to attend on one or two evenings per week in addition to their one day. Although by no means widespread, two days per week is not unknown, and there is strong pressure from some educationists, especially in Austria and the Federal Republic, for its acceptance as a more general pattern.

(iv) Weekly day-release can be regarded as a marked advance, but its shortcomings are often stressed, and not only by those educationists who regard the dual system as intrinsically inferior to full-time integrated theoretical and practical courses in a single institution. Critics, including teachers and principals of vocational schools stress that the student's concentration and retention tend to lapse in the 6-day interval between one attendance and the next, that teacher-student rel-
average of 8 weeks per year. Many countries have found this form particularly suitable for young workers in occupations with a regular seasonal pattern, such as agriculture in northern Europe, and the hotel and catering industry in Switzerland. When, as is sometimes the case, the courses are held in residential institutions, the educative potential of the resultant community life is considerable. Block release to residential centres also features in the training arrangements made by many large firms and trade associations. Although it may be a long time before block release becomes common form in industry and commerce, it may well gain in popularity as its educational advantages over day-release are demonstrated by further study and comparative research. The reluctance of many employers to release apprentices for more than one day a week has at least part of its roots in the further loss of production which might ensue. If, however, the trend towards regarding apprentices as full-time learners rather than immediately productive workers continues, manning arrangements may well become geared to longer periods of release.

(v) Despite these hopeful signposts to the future, a review of the present position in most member countries suggests that any realistic discussion of the content of continued education should have regard to the time frame into which it has most commonly to be fitted. A useful median would seem to be approximately 750 hours : 7 (hours per day) $\times$ 36 weeks (per school year) $\times$ 3 (years of apprenticeship). For apprentices receiving only a half-day's release, or attending evening or week-end classes, it is often markedly less. In countries where some or all of the factors are greater than in the median equation, or there is, for example, additional attendance outside working hours, it may reach 1,000 hours or more. Hours are admittedly a crude criterion, but it is salutary to remind oneself that 750 hours is about 60 % of the time available in a one-year full-time course.

4. *The programme*

(i) An examination of the day-release programmes currently in use in member countries shows that, despite inevitable variations, they contain two main elements :

(*a*) Practical and theoretical instruction more or less directly related to the student's occupation,

(*b*) The general, personal and social education of the student as an emergent citizen.

(ii) In traditional educational terminology, these are often identified as the vocational and "general" elements respectively. Such labels have their uses, but they can be misleading if they are taken to denote two distinct and separate parts of what ought, for the student, to be a single learning process. With this caveat, they will now be examined in more detail.

5. *The vocational element*

(i) Though content and balance vary widely from country to country, this generally occupies from two thirds to four fifths of the time available. All programmes include a group of subjects intended to strengthen the student's appreciation of the technology of his trade through a study of the materials used and the means by which they are transformed into the semi-finished or finished product. These, together with the relevant science, mathematics and graphical representation (technical drawing) usually form the core of that part of the curriculum to which the term "vocational" is generally applied. Although conventionally called theoretical or background subjects, the methods by which they are taught are rarely confined to classroom instruction, but involve varying amounts of demonstration by the teacher and practical investigation (e.g. laboratory experiments and exercises) by the students.

(ii) There are strong pressures making for an expansion of this sector of the programme. When, as is often the case in a dual system situation, the on-the-job training is inadequate, the training and education authorities seek to remedy this deficiency by including practical instruction in the basic job skills in the day-release programme. This is felt to be especially necessary where firms are too small or too narrow in scope to provide training facilities which are separate from the productive process. Another, and very different source of pressure comes from the interaction of the progressive reduction of the overall time available for training with the continuous expansion in the range of scientific and technological understanding demanded of skilled workers in many industries. Since, as many teachers rightly complain, it is easier to introduce new topics than to delete obsolescent ones, syllabuses become overloaded and more time in which to cover their content is often demanded. The third pressure for more time comes from the deep-seated conviction of many educators that the separation of theory and practice is pedagogically unsound. This view was expressed by an Austrian delegate at the Baden Seminar when describing the dual system of education and training for skilled workers in his own country. Referring to the place of practical work in the programme of the part-time school, he saw it not only as [illegible] to poor educational success. Thus, a maximum of integration with practical work is striven for." The consequences of this approach are apparent in the unusually high proportion of time given to the vocational sector of the Austrian and other part-time school programmes, and the relatively small amount remaining for non-vocationally orientated studies.

(iii) The problem of accommodating both theoretical instruction and the practice of job skills within the narrow limits of a single day's release is equally apparent in many programmes for young skilled workers in occupations where, for a variety of reasons, training on the job may be less developed than it is in manufacturing industry. A substantial proportion of school timetables for young workers in commerce is often allotted to shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping and office practice. Practical training also occupies a substantial place in many part-time programmes for young women workers in domestic, distributive, catering and other service occupations, though in these sectors many educationalists would claim that, when appropriately presented, this experience can be as relevant to the students as young women as it is to them as young workers.

(iv) Within the framework of a day-release pattern, it would be unrealistic, in the writer's view, to expect vocationally-orientated studies, both theoretical and practical, to demand less time in the foreseeable future. As training on the job becomes more widespread and more systematically organised, the need to include the learning and practice of specific job skills may well diminish. But the time thus freed is quite likely to be claimed by other occupationally relevant studies, often with a strong practical element, which will aim to build up the student's capacity to apply his knowledge intelligently and flexibly to the wide variety of work situations which he will have to face during his adult life.

6. *The general education element*

(i) Despite the heavy demands made by the trade-related studies, the education authorities of most member countries make specific provision in their day-release programmes for the broader needs of apprentices as emergent adults and future citizens. The time allowed or prescribed is rarely less than one or more than two periods each of 45-60 minutes (i.e. approximately 30 to 90 hours per year). It rarely features in evening-only courses.

(ii) The most commonly prescribed or recommended subject is civics. Content and treatment vary almost as widely as the titles given to this group of studies, but their broad aim is to prepare young people for the active and informed exercise of their rights and responsibilities as citizens in contemporary society. The structure and working of the political institutions of the mother country

often reinforced by an outline study of recent political, social and economic history, are common features, but they are often placed in the final year of the syllabus when the students are much nearer the threshold of full civic responsibility. In this context, they often form the concluding stages of a course which has begun by considering the young worker's relationships with his family and friends, his workmates and employers, and his place in the local community. There are many signs that syllabuses are being adapted to the inherently episodic nature of day-release and the fragile durability of students' interests. The logical development of a traditional subject discipline is sometimes modified in favour of a list of topics each capable of treatment over two or three weeks at most, and from which the teacher can select those most likely to catch the interests of his students. Contemporary social phenomena and problems are particularly susceptible of this type of treatment, and the range of subject matter can be extended to include problems of poverty, the consumer society, pop culture, student protest, the nuclear deterrent, industrial unrest and many others likely to stir young people into active participation which in itself can form a valuable part of their growth to civic consciousness. These are what they learn about from the mass media, and are common currency in the outside world. That they should be brought inside the classroom for controlled and informed discussion is becoming more widely accepted by enlightened teachers and education authorities. Flexibility, immediacy and controversy are nevertheless difficult to reconcile with the rigidities of centrally prescribed syllabuses, examinations and text-books which, at the current pace of change, rapidly become out of date. It is not surprising, therefore, that many teaching schemes are accompanied by official encouragement to greater freedom of treatment and the wider use of non-traditional teaching aids like newspapers, magazines, film, radio and television. Where time allows, opportunities for active first-hand observation and inquiry are provided by outside visits and on-the-spot surveys and interviews conducted by the students themselves. It is on these lines, and many others, that the subject-matter and presentation of civics is being reshaped and revitalised in some countries. The process is often slow and uneven, and there are still many syllabuses which seem more fitted to cherish the assumptions and beliefs of an older generation and of the relation of personal belief to social action. In a world where many traditional sanctions and behavioural conventions are being challenged or eroded, it is not surprising that religion, or ethics is a compulsory or recommended subject in the majority of programmes. As religion, the teaching may be denominational, with students being taught by a teacher, priest, or pastor of their own church, or allowed to opt out altogether. In other cases, the teaching may be non-doctrinal but based on a syllabus agreed by the appropriate religious bodies and the education authorities. Here, as in civics, the current trend is towards the study of personal belief and morality in the context of contemporary society and a less authoritarian approach into the many doubts which beset young people faced with what seems to them the frequent inconsistency between the uncaring materialism of many adults and the standards of behaviour which they expect from the young.

(iv) From its inclusion, often as a compulsory subject in all programmes, it is clear that instruction in the mother tongue is regarded as an essential part of continued education. The variety of purposes which such instruction is intended to serve is equally apparent.

It is generally popular with employers, many of whom look to the part-time school to improve their young employees' competence in speaking and writing. The teachers of technical subjects have similar expectations, since students must be able to record what they learn and reproduce it in the examinations on which their acquisition of qualifications so often depends. By inclination and training, the language teacher will be strongly inclined towards extending the linguistic range and resourcefulness of each individual student as an integral part of his maturation and self-realisation, and towards interesting him in the literary heritage of his mother country.

Even with able and well-motivated students, the language teacher would have difficulty in satisfying all these objectives in the one weekly period which is his normal allowance. Despite the progressive lengthening of their initial full-time schooling in many countries, these are not always the sort of students which he finds in his classes. Many able young people from working-class homes who would previously have sought apprenticeships can now continue in full-time secondary education, taking advantage of the wider opportunities which have been opened up by the democratisation of many European school systems in the last fifteen years. The apprentices of today would often have been the minimally educated young labourers of yesterday. This trend, and the spread of training and part-time further education to an increasing proportion of the 15-18 age group has brought a generation of young workers into the classroom whose attitude and motivation, especially towards general education, present a considerable challenge to the teacher. They are there because the State or their employer has said that they must be. Many of them may have found the study of their mother tongue, as hitherto presented to them in their previous schooling,

either easy or indeed relevant to their aims in life. Faced with the prospect of more, they may be indifferent or even hostile.

The varied approaches to language teaching often reflect these problems and tensions. Some syllabuses seem frankly remedial. By revision or recapitulation of the basic rules of grammar and syntax, they seek to make good previous deficiencies in students' ability to speak or write "correctly", an approach which, however praiseworthy in intention, may often be too redolent of "school" and previous "failure". The fact that, in many countries, the language is taught by teachers who have been trained for elementary or lower secondary schools may reinforce students' impression that they have "been here before". Another common approach sees language primarily as an occupational skill, to be mastered along with the others which form part of the apprentice's training, and closely related to a particular vocational context. Coming straight from full-time schooling, it is argued, the young worker-student needs to learn a new vocabulary of technical terms, and to use language functionally, whether to record and reproduce what he has learned for examination purposes, or to enable him to communicate satisfactorily in his work situation. This method is often adopted for young office workers, who are taught the various conventions of commercial correspondence, the accurate transmission of messages, and how to answer the telephone. Besides technical vocabulary, the industrial apprentice may be required to write descriptions of tools, machines and processes, letters of application for, or resignation from, a job, or simple technical or accident reports. This approach has much to commend it. Its protagonists claim, with some justice, that is based on the immediate needs of the student since it offers him a new language for a new situation. It does not go over ground which has been covered in previous schooling, and because it is fresh and relevant, may re-awaken interest and build up flagging confidence. It may also provide a useful occasion for consultation between the language teacher and those teaching the technical subjects to establish what are the real, up-to-date communication skills needed by the students. Imaginatively taught, it can also lead on to a wider interest in language as a necessary social skill in a variety of situations. But there are dangers, and one has only to scan the pages of a typical partly or even wholly out of date.

Although teachers may conclude that, given so little time, their first priority should be to help their students to develop a limited range of linguistic skills for vocational purposes, they may also feel strongly that they have a larger responsibility to foster their general linguistic resources and sensibilities, and to share with them the rich heritage of the poetry, prose and drama of their mother country. It is no criticism of this aspiration to say that insensitively applied, it can do more harm than good. Conditioned by his own age, education and experience of life, the teacher's view of this heritage will almost inevitably differ from that of his students. The literature which he has learned to love and cherish may leave them cold, because it is peopled by characters far removed from their own age and experience with whom they find it impossible to identify. Yet the prescribed or recommended literature lists of many language syllabuses are heavily weighted with "classics" of this type. Contemporary literature may often be excluded because its frank exploration of many aspects of human relationships are thought to be unsuitable for the classroom, however freely it may be available in paper-back at the nearest bookstall. This is not to assert that only the contemporary can interest students any more than that they will automatically reject the literature of the past. The skilled and sensitive teacher who has already established a rapport with his class, perhaps through successfully meeting their functional language needs, will know that the basic criterion of choice is neither modernity nor antiquity, but the capacity of any piece of literature to speak to his students' condition, to illuminate their own experience, and to engage their imagination. He has many aids at his command besides the printed page. Through radio, the record-player and the tape-recorder, he can present prose, poetry and drama, classic or modern, through the spoken word. If students do not take readily to reading or acting in a play, they may bring considerable ingenuity and enthusiasm to making, scripting and editing a short film and recording the dialogue on tape.

7. *The missing elements*

(i) Given the restricted time available, is such a programme adequate to meet the continued education needs of the apprentice ?

(ii) As a step towards framing an answer to this question in a European context, it is useful to turn to the conclusions and recommendations of the Baden Seminar. Concentrating on the role of the general education element, they defined its general aims as follows :

— "to develop the basic education acquired during the years of compulsory schooling ;

— to help the apprentice to cultivate moral standards, to become a responsible citizen, and a critical consumer ;

— to enable him to continue any arts and crafts or other recreational and physical activity begun during his school life and to introduce him to a wider range of such activities ;

— to foster in him the ability to speak, write, listen, read and to use other modes of communication (the instruction in the mother tongue which this will involve will be his principal means of access to general culture) ;

— to enable him to find and practise general methods of defining and solving problems ;

— to help him to understand the role he will be fulfilling as an individual with a personality of his own, as a student, as a member of a family, as a worker and as a member of the community."

(iii) The part-time programmes reviewed earlier in this chapter clearly try to fulfil some of these aims, mainly through the teaching of civics, social studies, religion and communication in the mother tongue. On the other hand, subjects designed to continue kinesthetic and aesthetic education rarely find a place. The part-time courses in some vocational schools or colleges in Iceland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom allot some time to physical education and recreation. In the United Kingdom, its scope frequently extends beyond the traditional sports to those like judo, badminton, tennis, golf and others which can be enjoyed by the individual or by small friendship groups in adult life. Here, as in certain pilot courses in the Netherlands, students are allowed, where possible, to choose for themselves. In other countries, it seems that students are generally expected to pursue their physical education in the youth service or the sports organisations provided in their firms or in their home locality. Opportunities within the curriculum for music, art, craft are even rarer, although a number of colleges in the United Kingdom, where there is no central prescription of programmes, allocate part of the general studies' time to these aspects of education.

(iv) To judge from the number of countries which prescribe it, it would seem that further instruction in a foreign language is seen as an important aid to communication. This is particularly

(v) Shortness of time is only one, if a major reason for these omissions. Many vocational schools lack the necessary specialist accommodation and teachers. Again, although many employers of male apprentices look favourably on physical education, they may well feel that other aspects of education for leisure are not essential, an attitude echoed by many students, whose ideas on how to spend their leisure time may be at variance with the aspirations of the educator. There is clearly room for further experiment and investigation of possibilities here, to which youth workers and experts from a wide range of informal education organisations could make a valuable contribution.

(vi) An area of study which remains unfilled in many programmes is general science. For the industrial apprentice this is often subsumed by the technology of his trade, but it rarely appears as either a vocational or a general subject for his non-industrial counterpart. This deficiency was noted with concern by the Baden Seminar, which felt that a broad-based introduction to the scientific basis of modern technological society should be an integral part of any continued education course, providing a link between its technical and general educational elements.

8. *A possible re-appraisal*

(i) A more fundamental question prompted by the Baden recommendations is : are not these aims common to the whole of the continued education and training programme, and not just to those parts of it which traditionally bear the general education label ? Surely, it might be argued, a student learning the technology of his trade is strengthening his basic education just as much as when he is learning civics. A practical task or experiment carefully completed by a group in the workshop or laboratory can be just as important a proving ground for personal morality and responsibility as a classroom discussion of ethics. Industrial design, with its emphasis on fitness for purpose and fidelity to the materials used, has fundamental lessons in aesthetics to offer. Whether he is being taught on the job or pursuing his technical studies at school, the apprentice is continually involved in communication situations, and his continued learning of his mother tongue is certainly not confined to a lesson bearing the appropriate label, while the nurture of his capacity for defining and solving problems is an equally pervasive task for all those concerned with his learning process.

(ii) To formulate the question in this way underlines the artificiality of trying, if only for purposes of definition and discussion, to split up what is essentially a single and continuous learning process into conventional subject compartments, and to assign a distinctive and exclusive task to each. In its extreme form, it can lead to unhealthy fragmentation, in which, for example, those responsible for training on the job look no further than the apprentice's immediate needs for certain

practical skills. The teacher of technical subjects, though he may well have a broader conception of "vocation", may confine himself exclusively to equipping his students to pass their theoretical and practical tests. His general education colleagues, on the other hand, may feel that they alone can offer the young citizen the key to literacy, morality, a fruitful use of leisure, and full participation in civic and social life. All will bewail the fact that their share of the timetable is quite inadequate to allow them to achieve their objectives, and cast envious eyes on the time allowed for studies other than those which are their immediate concern.

(iii) Clearly the battleground is too narrow and the overall objectives too important for such sterile friction. The answer is as deceptively easy to formulate in general terms as it is difficult to realise in practice. It is that all those concerned with the apprentice's continued training and education should feel equally responsible for pursuing the aims so admirably defined by the Baden Seminar. While each will seek to make his own specialist contribution to the student's learning, it will need to be constantly tested by the criterion of its value to the overall task of helping him to become an enlightened and responsible worker and citizen.

(iv) At the very least, this would appear to require convinced agreement on broad objectives, and continuous co-operation at all levels on how they are pursued. This is hard enough to secure in full-time general education where, despite areas of healthy controversy, there is nevertheless a substantial measure of agreement about ends, and some central direction and control of means. The situation of training and further education for apprentices is far more complex. Administrative responsibility is divided between a variety of public, semi-public and private bodies whose aims and activities may be imperfectly co-ordinated. Trade descriptions, training syllabuses and examination standards, all of which are major determinants of the content and context of continued education are only partially controlled, if at all, by the education authorities. Despite continuous revision, they have often failed to adapt to the accelerating pace of post-war technical, social, educational and economic change. Educational authorities and institutions, too, have inevitable traditions which hamper their adaptation to change, although many have shown a remarkable finished their full-time schooling.

(v) In the writer's view, many of the imperfections, frictions and conflicting pressures in the field of continued education for apprentices are the inevitable result of a transitional situation in which the major partners have no agreed frame of reference in which to identify their respective roles. Each is to some extent a prisoner of past practice and terminology, in which distinctions between "training" and "education", "practical" and "theoretical", "full-time" and "part-time" may be obstacles rather than aids to re-appraisal. They are, admittedly, convenient labels, but they need constant scrutiny to ensure that they are educationally meaningful. It is fatally easy to turn the labels into compartments, which obscure the essential unity of the learning process known as apprenticeship.

(vi) The great advances in productivity and standards of living in many countries of post-war Europe have made possible a radical re-appraisal of apprenticeship. It is now really feasible to question whether a supply of cheap juvenile labour is any longer necessary to their continued economic development. The post-war period has seen an accelerated reduction in this supply and it is at least arguable that this has been a positive incentive to increased productivity. The argument is even stronger when those young people withdrawn from immediate production are spending the time thus liberated in extended education and training to enrich their eventual adult contribution to society. Although it will be a long time before even the most advanced European economies will find it either possible or desirable to make 18 the minimum legal age for entry into full-time employment, some are nearing the point where they can accept, as a cardinal point of policy, that any economic loss resulting from ceasing to regard the apprentice as a part-time producer is more than made up by the gain from regarding him as a full-time learner. In this, they can certainly expect the support of some of the largest and most dynamic employers, who already regard their apprentices' wages more as an investment in future production than a cost of current output.

(vii) Such a change in the concept of apprenticeship is no panacea but it does promise the end of much current ambivalence. Only when the apprentice is regarded as a full-time learner can there be any concerted approach to the fundamental questions of what, where, how and from whom he should learn. And the answers could be radically different from those which have so far been arrived at in many European countries, where the basic questions have been overlaid and obscured by tradition, short-term improvisation, and economic expediency. It is not likely to signalise the end of the dual system, although many educationists feel strongly that all young people should

remain in full-time attendance at an educational institution until the age of 18. Even if such an ideal were economically feasible, its educational validity is questionable.

9. *Some lines of development*

(i) Even within the context of day-release in a dual system, there is much that can be done to improve the quality and coherence of the learning process.

(ii) A first priority would seem to be the recognition of a closer identity of purpose between the trainers and the educators. There is a growing body of agreement that it is no longer sufficient to equip the skilled worker of tomorrow with a once-for-all package of knowledge and skill which is narrowly directed towards the exercise of a particular occupation. In some countries, a broad-based preparation for skilled work within a sector of industry, commerce or the services is slowly tending to replace training for the multiplicity of traditional craft compartments. Premature specialisation is being reduced, and areas of study which are common to many skilled occupations are being identified and made the basis of the early years of apprenticeship training, to which more specialised elements can be added [1] not only in the final years of apprenticeship but at appropriate points in adult life. It is from the more forward-looking employers that the demand comes for young employees with greater flexibility and adaptability which, in educational terms, means that the young worker needs a more substantial initial knowledge of the scientific and technological bases of modern industry, and an ability to apply that knowledge to a variety of situations. Such demands are not confined to manufacturing industry. Mechanisation and computerisation are making giant strides in commerce and the distributive trades. All aspects of primary production and distribution are being similarly transformed. In a different, but equally fundamental way, the expanding area of personal and social services is calling for workers with some knowledge of the behavioural sciences and training in inter-personal skills.

(iii) These changes in the purpose, timing and content of training have important consequences for the continued education which accompanies it. They certainly give additional impetus to a therefore more concerned with the attitude of the student's mind, his powers of observation, his ability to reason and his capacity to analyse and solve the problems with which he is faced. This change of approach, it should be stressed, does not imply a progressive abandonment of vocational education's practical, work-orientated content. But it does involve a radical reshaping of traditional "workshop-school" methods. Instead of the practical work being a training-ground for repetitive skills, it becomes a place where theory and practice interact and fructify. While the rapidity of this change should not be overestimated, it has already proceeded far enough in certain countries to provide the occasion and the incentive for a renewed dialogue between the industrial and educational partners in the apprentice's learning process.

(iv) Another basis for fruitful dialogue is the increasing realisation that the successful functioning of any productive enterprise depends as much on its social as its technical processes. This has long been known to industrial psychologists and sociologists, but it has only slowly begun to permeate everyday industrial practice. The progressive weakening of the traditional sanctions of unemployment and low living standards, the greater strength of organised labour in complex, inter-dependent industrial situations, the need for a more mobile and flexible labour force, and the mounting costs of failure in communication between management and workers are only a few of the forces making for re-appraisal. At the level of education and training for management, its consequences can be seen in the increased study of the behavioural sciences and communications, but it has has yet to make corresponding impact at skilled-worker level, where education for social competence is still treated as something quite separate from training for occupational skill and not particularly relevant to it. Even on the most utilitarian grounds it could surely be argued that the lack of such competence is as potent an obstacle to the sort of occupational mobility and flexibility which is now being demanded of skilled workers as the deficiencies in their vocational training. In many European countries, industrial training agencies are developing job profiles as a basis for their new schemes and programmes, but they tend to concentrate almost exclusively on the apprentice's manipulative skills, and rarely extend to an investigation of the interaction between him and his industrial environment. Closer attention to these aspects of vocational profiles could well provide another basis of dialogue between trainers and educators which could have important implications for a re-appraisal of the learning process in an industrial context. Modest growing points, in the shape of increasing attention to such matters as industrial safety, health and welfare,

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1. The Council of Europe Seminar on "New forms of vocational education for technical trades", Dusseldorf 1966, investigated and gave general support to this development.

are already included in many training programmes, but they rarely extend beyond rules and procedures to the larger underlying questions of human interaction and interdependence.

(v) One aspect of vocational education which has long been productive of controversy if not dialogue is the extent to which either of the providing partners should concern themselves with preparing young people for life outside working hours. As has been seen earlier in this chapter, most educators and many employers agree that it should at least attempt to prepare them for the exercise of civic rights and responsibilities. But there is no such consensus on what is sometimes called education for leisure. This is often hard to understand, since many employers implicitly recognise the importance of leisure in their provision of sports grounds, social clubs and other recreative and welfare facilities. And yet many of them object strenuously when attempts are made to include the learning of leisure-time skills in continued education programmes. This opposition, which might crudely be epitomised as "I don't pay for play", takes insufficient account of the change in the relative importance of work and leisure as formative influences on the worker's total personality. "Status and the sense of achievement are now increasingly associated with leisure pursuits and possessions, rather than with work. Personal success is measured in terms of career advancement by only a minority of people ; for the majority it is a matter of personal, domestic and leisure life [1]." The knowledge and skills which can help the young worker to a satisfying and recreative use of leisure time need to be learned just as much as those which are more readily recognised as job-related. The acceptance of these ideas will be more difficult in some countries than in others. In Denmark, basic vocational training is being grafted on to an already strong tradition of all-round character-developing liberal education. The Engineering Training Board in the United Kingdom has given official encouragement to the practice of certain employers who release their young workers to attend character-building courses run by "Outward Bound" and other youth organisations. The Council of Europe has also played its part by stimulating international interest in the provision of periods of "cultural leave" *(congé culturel)* for workers of all ages to seek further social and civic education not directly related to their jobs. This debate on continued education for life and leisure is one in which the employers, educational authorities and the growth of large-scale commercial provision for such leisure-time pursuits as horse-riding, sailing, ski-ing and a host of others previously enjoyed by a wealthy or privileged minority, while creative participation in rather than passive consumption of many forms of art and craft is no longer looked on as the exclusive concern of the avowedly "educational" agencies. These commercial providers have not only a direct interest in securing a wider market for their services, but an expertise in providing them which has much to offer to an imaginative re-shaping of continued education programmes.

10. *Conclusion*

The central thesis of this chapter has been that further progress basically depends on the increasing acceptance of a number of propositions :

(*a*) that the apprentice is just as much engaged in full-time learning as those of his contemporaries who remain in full-time attendance at school ;

(*b*) that what he learns at work and at an educational institution should be regarded as complementary elements in a single process ;

(*c*) that the objectives of this process need re-definition in the light of a concept of vocation which gives equal weight to the occupational, social and personal needs of young people ;

(*d*) that current forms of continued education in Europe are already moving, albeit slowly and unevenly, towards such a re-definition ;

(*e*) that further progress is dependent on closer co-operation between industry, education authorities, and non-traditional agencies with relevant interests or experience, to evolve new and integrated programmes which avoid the unbalance, rigidity and fragmentation which characterise much current provision in this field ;

(*f*) that, while recognising the utility of the current concept of release from work for continued education, it may well need to be replaced by its obverse, namely that the apprentice is a full-time student who is released from education for progressively longer periods of practical learning at work. It is difficult to see how the objectives of continued education as defined by the Baden Seminar can be achieved unless this is done.

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1. "Permanent Education and Community Development", J.A. Simpson, *Council of Europe Information Bulletin* No. 3/1969, Strasbourg 1969, p. 30.

II. *Summary of provisions in member countries*

Austria

Vocational training and associated further education are compulsory for all apprentices throughout their period of apprenticeship (i.e. for 3 or 4 years from the age of 15). In 1965-66, of those young people in the 14½ to 17½ age-group who had taken up gainful employment, apprentices made up two thirds of the total ; boys outnumbered girls in the ratio of nearly two to one. All are apprenticed under the provisions of an apprenticeship contract.

The form of organisation adopted is the "dual system", with the practical training being given by the employer at the place of work, and the associated further education at a vocational school *(Berufsschule)* to which the apprentices must be released from their place of work for one day per week, the wages being paid by the employer.

At a vocational school, the school year for each student consists of 40 working days each of 7½ hours divided into 9 lessons of 50 minutes' duration. The majority of students attend on the one-day per week basis, but other types of course have been evolved to meet the special needs of young people working in small specialist occupations, or in areas too scattered to permit daily travel. The weekly days are therefore consolidated into a block, allowing a short full-time course of 8 consecutive weeks per year. For certain seasonal occupations courses of two days per week for 20 weeks in each year are also offered.

Vocational schools fall into the two broad categories of trade or technical *(gewerblichen)* and commercial *(kaufmännischen)*. Within each category, there are specialist institutions giving further education for a specific occupation or a related group of occupations, or general trade vocational schools catering for a variety of unrelated trades. Mention should also be made of certain special types *(Sonderformen)* of trade, technical and art/craft schools which were initiated by the 1962 School Organisation Act, which, through the medium of evening courses, are intended to widen

The declared aim of the vocational schools is "to further and supplement the education of employ-
persons serving an apprenticeship in a trade (including those serving a commercial apprenticeship)
or articled under a legally equivalent contract of service, by means of part-time professional training
appropriate to their vocations" [1].

Their curricula are prescribed by the 1962 Act and include the following compulsory subjects :

(a) *Technical (trade) schools*	%
Religious instruction	
Civics	3.7
Industrial economics	14.8—29.6
The theoretical subjects appropriate to the trade concerned	37.1—44.5
Related practical work	44.4—22.2
	100.0

(b) *Commercial schools*	%
Religious instruction	
Civics	3.7
Mother tongue	3.7
Basic commercial knowledge	37.0—57.4
Specialist subjects	55.6—35.2
	100.0

The percentages shown indicate the proportion of time spent on each subject or section o
study over the three years of the part-time course (1,080 "periods"). Religious instruction is, i
practice, compulsory only in the federal provinces of the *(Länder)* Tyrol and Vorarlberg, wher
a further 60 periods are added to the total length of the course ; this also applies in schools i
other provinces which offer it as a non-compulsory subject.

It will be noted that the general education subjects of religion, civics, and the mother tongu
occupy only a modest place in these curricula, which are predominantly composed of studies mor

1. School Organisation Act 1962, Austrian Federal Ministry Section 148 of Education, Vienna 1962.

or less directly related to the young worker's occupation. Although the main responsibility for practical training lies with the employer, it has been felt necessary to provide a substantial amount of practical training in the vocational schools also. This is partly to broaden the range of the apprentice's practical experience which might otherwise be narrowly restricted to that which could be provided by his employment. The main reason, however, is that the Austrian school authorities consider too rigid a separation of theory and practice to be educationally unsound. Since, in their view, the aptitude of most apprentices is more practical than theoretical, they can only understand and integrate theoretical concepts through their derivation from practical work and by their application in a practical context. This reasoning also prompts the retention of a form of organisation in which students are taught in their specialised occupational groups, although the need to provide all young skilled workers with a broad basic education is fully recognised.

In recruiting teachers both for the theoretical and practical subjects, the general trend is towards the specialist with practical experience of the work situation, to which pedagogical training can subsequently be added.

Belgium

Young people who, having completed their full-time schooling, enter employment as apprentices or comparably skilled trainees are not legally required to undertake vocational training and education.

If they enter a small business employing less than 50 persons, they come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Middle Classes *(Ministère des Classes Moyennes)*, which operates a quite distinct form of apprenticeship. Its objective is not only to help young people to acquire the skills appropriate to that business, but also to teach them how to run a business themselves. The training lasts seven years : the first stage of four years leads to a certificate by examination ; the second, terminated by an examination which must be taken at least three years after the first, leads to a master's *(patronat)* certificate. The apprenticeship contract includes a clause allowing the apprentice three hours release during working hours to attend classes at an apprenticeship centre in such subjects as the mother tongue, arithmetic, commercial knowledge and science at a very elementary level. His practical training must be acquired "on the job". For the rest of his theoretical knowledge he may attend evening or week-end classes at technical schools in his own time. Concern is frequently expressed about the small proportion (25 % or less) who successfully complete the course by obtaining the master's certificate.

The Ministry works through regional and local bodies representing both employers and employees. It conducts examinations and agrees the syllabuses issued by the national federation.

The majority of school leavers, however, seek skilled employment in larger industrial and commercial enterprises. For them a defined and regulated system of apprenticeship offering training on the job and related part-time education in working hours does not yet exist. Their main route into skilled employment is through a full-time course in technical or vocational school which may be organised by the public authorities (central or local) or by independent secular or religious bodies. Those provided by the central government are directly supervised and inspected by the Technical Education Department of the Ministry of National Education and Culture.

The curriculum for these schools has been described on pp. 32-33 above. They offer a 4-year course from 12 to 16, the great majority of pupils staying on voluntarily for two years after completing their compulsory education at 14. In the third and fourth years, half the weekly timetable of 40 hours is devoted to practical training. At the end of the 4-year course, examinations (including practical tests), devised and conducted by each school, are held, and the successful candidates receive a certificate. They then enter employment as ordinary workers and their employers are not required to provide further organised or systematic training and education, though some may encourage their young employees to attend evening classes.

It should be noted that, compared with the unskilled and semi-skilled, the skilled workers receive considerably higher wages. This, combined with a generous system of children's allowances which continues as long as a child remains in full-time education, provides a powerful incentive for a voluntary extension of school life which is seen to lead to skilled employment.

In the last decade, pressure from certain large industrial organisations, notably "Fabrimetal", has led to the development of new pilot courses in 5 vocational schools (including State, local and private institutions). Their aim is to provide a broad base of related general and technical education, and a general practical training in mechanical and electrical engineering. A pupil successfully completing such a course is not narrowly orientated towards a specific occupation where, because

of technological change, sufficient employment opportunities may not exist. His broader technical education gives him the possibility of wider choice within a large industrial complex, while his strengthened general education enables him to adapt more readily to a changing situation.

Denmark

Since the Apprentices Act (No. 261) of 1956, vocational training and education has been compulsory for all apprentices in industry, trades, shops and offices. Training is provided by the employer and the related further education by vocational schools *(fagskoler)* of two types : technical schools *(teknisk skole)* for apprentices in workshops and factories, and commercial schools *(handelskolen)* for those in shops and offices. For both types, the control of education, administration and finance is exercised by the Department of Commercial and Technical Schools of the Ministry of Education.

Since 1956, progress has been made towards organising the further education element of this process in the form of attendance at day-time classes, especially for apprentices in workshops and factories. Attendance continues throughout the period of apprenticeship (up to 4 years) and takes the form of block periods of full-time attendance as follows : 6 to 12 weeks in the first year, 5 to 8 in the second and third, and 3 to 8 weeks in the fourth year. For apprentices in commercial and clerical occupations, the total number of hours spent in day-time classes during their apprenticeship is 720 and 800 respectively. To enable young entrants to clerical and commercial occupations, especially those who have left without completing a voluntary 8th or 9th year, to make a smoother transition to vocational training and further education, special courses offering 240 hours of instruction lasting for 12 weeks, are provided.

Curricula, which must be approved by the Ministry of Education, are prepared by the inspectorate of its Department of Commercial and Technical Schools after consultations with the joint committee for the industry or trade concerned. Before 1964, instruction in the mother tongue and civics, occupying from 50 to 200 hours, was provided throughout the apprenticeship period. Since that date new curricula have been devised, placing more emphasis on foreign languages and subjects related to the students' occupations.

France

The extension of compulsory schooling and the progressive re-structuring of secondary education, though not yet complete, have brought consequential changes in vocational training and education, including that of the apprentice or comparably skilled worker.

The new structure, announced in 1966, was designed to incorporate some of the main features of the existing system, while extending its overall scope and bringing its various sectors into a more coherent relationship. When the new structure is operative, the young person completing the first cycle of secondary education and the compulsory school period will, as now, have the choice between two principal routes to becoming a skilled worker at lower than technician level :

1. By attending a full-time course of combined practical training, theoretical instruction and general education. The length of these courses, formerly 3 years, is being reduced to 2, and they are increasingly being provided at colleges of technical education (*collèges de l'enseignement technique*) which are being developed from the former full-time apprenticeship schools *(centres d'apprentissage)*. They are also provided at private technical schools run by private firms (e.g. Renault). They prepare students for work in agriculture, industry, commerce, and the personal, social and administrative services, and the publicly-provided schools are in process of full integration into the second, or post-compulsory stage of secondary education. In the current curriculum, general education occupies 15 hours of 40-hour week, and includes civics, art, and physical education for all students, and housecraft for girls.

2. By entering employment as an apprentice. Apprenticeship may be served in industry, or in a small firm *(artisanat)* with less than 5 employees in addition to members of the family. In both cases, practical training is the responsibility of the employer and is provided on the job.

Following the industrial route, the apprentice will have a 2-year (or 3-year if he has left school at 15) course of training and related further education leading to the Certificate of Professional Aptitude (C.A.P.) in a specific occupation. A Law (*Loi Astier*) of 1919 made attendance for 4 hours per week (150 per year) at part-time classes (*cours professionnels*) compulsory for all young workers under 18 employed in industry and commerce. Although the requirement that this should be in working hours has not always been observed, the practice of release for one or two days per week is growing where suitable institutions can provide appropriate part-time courses. In some cases,

both practical and theoretical training are given in workshop schools provided by firms. Whole industries have set up their own regional centres, in which the apprentice spends 2½ days on general and theoretical education and 2½ days in the plant, the two sections being carefully integrated. The metallurgical industry pioneered this development, and has been followed by mechanical engineering, textiles, the nationalised coal industry and building. The last-named has also developed correspondence courses, making use of local school teachers as tutors, for apprentices working on remote sites. Chambers of Commerce, like that in Paris, have set up colleges and organised part-time courses for apprentices and other skilled workers in offices and the distributive trades.

Attendance at these part-time courses helps to establish the young person's identity as an apprentice, on which the continued payment of family allowance depends. Those seeking the C.A.P. qualification must pass the same examination, set by the Ministry of Education, as those following the full-time course, and this is an additional incentive for part-time study.

Artisan apprenticeship in small firms is regulated by Chambers of Trade *(Chambres de Métiers)*, public bodies to which all masters and journeymen must belong. A master's certificate of the relevant Chamber is a prerequisite for any one wishing to employ apprentices. Part-time attendance at theoretical courses, organised in vocational schools provided either by the State or the Chambers themselves, or taken by correspondence, is encouraged.

As a result of legislation passed in 1966 and 1967, there has been a strong movement towards the co-ordination of the highly diversified field of vocational training. The apprenticeship tax, based on pay roll and compulsory for all but the smallest firms, was raised, and the training and re-training of adult workers *(promotion sociale)* was brought under the supervision of an inter-ministerial committee, presided over by the Prime Minister and representing the Ministries of the Economy and Finance, Education, Agriculture, Industry, and Social Affairs. Each region now has a committee overseeing the development of vocational training, re-training and other aspects of employment.

Federal Republic of Germany

The continued education of young skilled workers must be seen in the context of the long-standing legal requirement that all young people not in full-time education must attend a vocational school *(Berufsschule)* for one day per week in school term-time. This requirement extends from the conclusion of the compulsory school period to the age of 18, or beyond if the apprenticeship has not been completed by that age.

Another feature to be borne in mind is the high proportion of young workers in the 15-18 age group whose jobs are classified as "skilled" in some degree, and for which detailed recommended training programmes have been drawn up. Hence, in 1966, 82.3 % of the students in *Berufsschulen* were classified as apprentices *(Lehrling)* or trainees *(Anlerning)*. This percentage represented nearly 1.5 million young people, of whom some 40 % were girls. The vast majority of apprentices are registered with either a Chamber of Industry and Commerce *(Industrie- und Handelskammer)* or a Chamber of Crafts *(Handwerkskammer)*, each of which has organisations at local, regional *(Land)* and national level. The two types of Chamber form separate systems of apprenticeship, that for crafts having evolved from the traditional craft 'guilds', while that for industry and commerce represents the more modern developments of the newer skills and trades, especially in the larger industrial concerns. As might be expected from changes in industrial and occupational structures, the proportion of apprentices registered with the Industrial and Commercial Chamber is rising, as that registered with the Craft Chamber falls.

Each Chamber breaks down the occupations for which it is responsible into a large number of separate trades and crafts for which apprenticeships or traineeships are designed. For each of these, the training and, to some extent, complementary vocational education follows the recommendations made nationally by a council representing the Chamber concerned. There are usually three sections to these recommendations :

— a short description of the duties of the trade *(Berufsbild)* ;

— a detailed syllabus of practical training *(Berufsbildungsplan)* ;

— an outline syllabus for the complementary vocational education given in the *Berufsschule (Rahmenlehrplan)*.

The first two sections are legally compulsory ; the third is a recommendation, although, in practice, the Ministries of Education of the *Länder* generally accept them. It should be noted however, that the *Rahmenlehrplan* covers only the technical subjects, and does not include the

general education subjects such as civics, economics etc., the curricula for which are under the direct control of the Ministry of Education for each *Land*.

The responsibility for training and further education of the young skilled worker is therefore shared by the employer and the education authority, the former providing practical training during the four days at work, while the theory of the trade and general education are given at the *Berufsschule* for one day per week. Wages are paid by the employer for the young worker's attendance at *Berufsschule,* but not overtime or bonus payments. The great majority of *Berufsschulen* are separate educational institutions, physically unconnected with any specific firm or undertaking, and built, staffed, maintained and controlled by the education authorities. Some twenty-three very large industrial firms (e.g. Krupp, Siemens and Rheinstahl) however, have their own *Berufsschulen* (known as *Werksberufsschulen).* These have to meet the requirements of the *Land* Education Ministry in such matters as curriculum and teachers' qualifications, and are open to inspection by the education authorities.

The *Berufsschule* day is normally of 6-7 hours, divided into 8 or 9 periods *(stunde)* of 45 minutes. There are variations on this basic pattern (e.g. two days of six periods each for some girls in domestic science occupations), but experiments in block release, where the weekly days are combined to give periods of continuous full-time attendance over several weeks, are relatively rare. The education authorities of most *Länder* are in favour of a *Berufsschule* element of 12 periods per week not necessarily limited to one day, but this is only exceptionally achieved.

Though it may take into account the outline syllabuses for complementary vocational education drawn up by the Chambers, each *Land* is responsible for the curricula and syllabuses in its own *Berufsschulen.* The syllabuses, printed and issued to each school, are the product of consultation between the *Land* Ministry and the teachers. They are detailed documents, in some cases giving the subject matter in weekly instalments, in others the topics to be covered over a year. A limited flexibility of treatment is nevertheless possible and is officially encouraged.

Although there are many variations, according to the *Land* or the trades concerned, the following curriculum for industrial trades in North-Rhine Westphalia has many typical features :

Civics	1 period	one day of 9 periods, followed weekly for each of three years
Economics/social studies	1 period	
Religion	1 period	
Craft technology	2 periods	
Mathematics	2 periods	
Technical drawing	2 periods	

The "general education" element therefore occupies one third of the time and consists of religion, civics and economics.

For the period of religion, students have the choice of Protestant or Catholic, and the lesson may be taught by the form teacher or by a visiting pastor or priest. Syllabuses are devised by the Education Ministry for the *Land* in consultation with the religious bodies. At the wish of their parents, students may "opt out" of attendance at this subject, but must remain on school premises.

Civics is an umbrella term for a subject whose title varies from *Land* to *Land* (e.g. *Bürgerkunde* in North-Rhine Westphalia, *Politische Gemeinschaft* in the Rhineland-Palatinate, *Sozialkundlich-politische Unterricht* in Hessen). A concentric approach to the subject matter is frequently prescribed, beginning, in the first year, with the young worker's role and relationships in his family, at work, at school and in his local community ; the second year treats of such wider topics as "Home and Fatherland", "Town and State" with special reference to the student's home *Land* and its place in the Federal Republic ; the third year brings a study of the economic, social and political history of 19th and 20th century Germany, leading on to the place of the Federal Republic in Europe and the world.

Economics, too, covers a wide range of subject matter, variously treated, but appearing in many curricula. The aim of the early stages of the course is to help the student to locate himself in his firm and in the wider economic community, dealing inter alia with the worker's rights and responsibilities, methods of payment, collective bargaining, and social insurance ; at a later stage, the studies move on to the evolution of a modern industrial economy, with its complex patterns of production, distribution and consumption.

In economics, considerable emphasis is often placed on written work *(Schriftwerkehr),* which is closely related to the subject matter, with the type of written work to be done at each stage clearly indicated in the syllabus. Thus, at an early stage in the course, students may be given

practice in the writing of letters of application, apology and resignation from their jobs. Later, they learn how to make payments by cheque, and how to fill in the variety of forms (e.g. for sending goods by post or by rail, claims for social security payments etc.) which are a feature of life in a complex highly organised society.

It will be noted that instruction in the mother tongue does not figure in the curriculum quoted above. This is not true for the *Berufsschulen* schemes in all *Länder,* but does represent what seems to be a general move towards incorporating practice in the use of language in the study of other general education subjects.

With the exception of religion, the teaching is generally organised on the basis of one teacher taking all subjects, both trade and general education, with his class and staying with the same class for the full three years. There is, however, some movement towards a limited amount of specialisation to the extent of having one teacher for trade subjects and one for general education.

With religion again excepted, the general education subjects frequently but not invariably form part of the school-leaving examination *(Schulabschlussprüfung)* set at the end of the 3-year course. They do not, however, figure in the trade examination which marks the end of the young worker's apprenticeship *(Lehrabschlussprüfung).*

It will be seen, therefore, that certain aspects of general education have a recognised and prescribed place in that part of his further education and training which the young skilled worker receives at the *Berufsschule.*

Iceland

There is no compulsory vocational training, but contracted apprentices are required to attend part-time vocational training schools *(idnskóli).* These schools are under the overall jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, their financing being shared by the State and the local authorities.

To assist the Ministry in the administration of this system of vocational training, a Council *(idnfraedslurad)* was set up by an Act of 1966. Previous to the passage of that Act, courses were often held in the evenings, the apprentice being compensated by having his working week reduced by 10 hours. These are rapidly being superseded by block-release courses of 3 months in each of the four years for which apprenticeship usually lasts.

16 is the minimum age of entry into an apprenticeship contract, so that there is considerable incentive for the would-be apprentice to stay on at school for a further voluntary year, and many do so. Workshop schools *(verknamskoli)* are also being developed, offering one year full-time "off the job" courses of combined practical and theoretical instruction preparing for entry into a trade or industrial occupation. The practical element in the course is designed to offer a broader base of experience than could be provided by any single employer.

In the full-time workshop school course, the proportion of practical to theoretical and general instruction is approximately 60/40. The latter includes subjects such as the mother tongue, civics, a foreign language (English or Danish), calculations and physical education.

The curricula for the 3-month courses in the part-time vocational schools devote about one fifth of the time to practical training and the remainder to background and theoretical subjects, with considerable emphasis being given to technical drawing and geometry. The mother tongue, a foreign language, civics and physical education are also included.

Apprenticeship is still dominated by the old artisan guild system, to the extent that, even in industrial undertakings, the young factory worker must be apprenticed to a master tradesman, which the firm often has to employ especially for this purpose. Various efforts are being made to adapt these arrangements to the newer needs of industry, including the institution of full-time master tradesman courses aimed at broadening the rather narrow competence of those who have passed through an artisan apprenticeship.

The vocational training system also includes a variety of specialised institutions for agriculture, horticulture, nursing, and the extensive fishing industry, all offering full-time courses.

Italy

The Ministry of Education makes its principal contribution to the education and training of skilled workers by means of full-time courses which follow the period of compulsory schooling. These are provided in the National Vocational Training Institutes. They attract a relatively small

proportion (15.1 % in 1964-65) of pupils completing the middle school *(scuola media)* course, and are in process of reforms which will integrate them more closely with the remainder of the secondary school system. Although their main concern is with full-time students, they do, in certain cases, provide part-time courses of training and theoretical instruction, mainly in the evenings and at week-ends, for young people already in employment. There are five main types of vocational school based on broad industrial groupings : agriculture, industry and craft, commerce, hotel and catering, women's occupations. The full-time courses they offer are based on "vocational profiles", and aim to teach all the operations required for particular crafts, including the use of the requisite tools, to the level of skill required by the appropriate industry. Although predominantly practical, 30 % of the course is devoted to general education and civics, and recent revisions of the terminal examinations *(qualificazioni)* by the Ministry of Education have encouraged the development of courses which are less specifically geared to a particular occupation. The education authorities recognise the need to continue this process of broadening the educational base of the courses and reducing the element of narrow, premature specialisation. They are also conscious of the unsatisfied needs of many young workers who wish to continue their vocational education part-time, but for whom release for day-time education during working hours is not yet possible. A further, and serious problem is presented by the fact that the majority of students in vocational schools do not complete the courses for which they enrol.

The major public responsibility for the training and further education of young people in employment lies with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. It administers the Fund for the Vocational Training of Industrial Workers derived from a general social tax levied on employers, and plays a major role in the National Institute for the Training and Re-training of Industrial Workers (INAPLI), a body representing both employers and workers. Historically, its activities in this field began with the provision of courses and training workshops for the unemployed, and initial training courses for young people in search of their first employment. Although the latter is still its major activity, it provides or finances a substantial number of supplementary theoretical courses for apprentices. This Ministry has also developed a number of training centres of its own, like that at Genoa for the building trades.

In addition to their training on the job, apprentices without an appropriate school leaving certificate are required, by a Law of 1956, to follow a part-time continuation course of related education. In duration, these amount to between 90 and 180 hours per year, or 2, 3 and 4 hours per week, held during working hours or in the evening.

A substantial amount of apprentice training and education takes place in the works schools provided by industry itself. IRI, a very large public holding company controlling nationalised firms in many sectors of the economy, has set up its own training agency (IFAP), which has centres in 6 major cities. Its activities are financed by a pay-roll levy on the firms within the group. Originally intended to train executives, managers and other higher level employees, the rapid pace of economic and technical change has faced it with demands for re-education and re-training which spread across the whole labour force. It has therefore devised its own 2-year full-time "off-the-job" course for apprentices. Training in a specific skill or craft is delayed until the final months of the course. Approximately 4 hours, or 10 % of the weekly timetable is spent on general education, including physical education. A major effort has been made to recruit trained technical instructors, and IFAP has its own 5-month teacher training course. The part-time teaching staff of the centres includes technicians, both active and retired, and day school teachers undertaking additional part time work.

Netherlands

The Ministry of Education and Sciences delegates control of industrial training, including that of apprentices, to the central training organisations which have been developed in nearly all branches of industry since 1945. These bodies, the largest of which is BEMETEL, are joint organisations of employers and trade unions, and have no representatives either of the central government or the municipalities on their governing boards. They are, however, responsible to the Department of Education and Sciences, and the major part of their finance comes either directly or indirectly from central government, chiefly through per capita grants to employers based on the number of apprentices employed ; this is, in practice, passed on by the employer to the training organisation. The Department of Education exercises control, including supervision of trade tests and examinations, through a special branch of its inspectorate.

Although the situation is changing because of the progressive implementation of the 1967 Post-Primary Education Act, most young people still enter apprenticeship at the age of 15 or 16

after attendance at a lower technical school (*l.b.o.*). The obligation for them to receive further education and training forms part of the apprenticeship contract to which the apprentice, his employer and the training board are all parties.

Having signed this contract, the apprentice is obliged for the period of his apprenticeship of 2 to 4 years, to attend part-time classes at an educational institution. In some cases, this will be a lower technical school (*l.b.o.*) which provides part-time courses for apprentices as well as the full-time courses noted above ; in others, it may be a separate vocational school for young workers (*strekeskole*), or at a works school provided by the employer (where practical training is also given).

In recent years, the old form of attendance on 4 evenings per week has rapidly given way to some form of day-release either for one day, or for one morning or afternoon plus one or two evenings per week, with wages paid by the employer.

With the trend towards day-release has come a shift of emphasis in the curriculum away from practical work towards background theory and general education, although practical work is still included in many courses. In 1966-67, pilot courses, based on an 8-hour school day, were mounted at 5 schools. 6 hours were given to mathematics, science and craft theory, and 2 hours to general education. One hour or the latter was spent in civics or social studies and the other on education for leisure, similar to that offered at the "School for Living" (*levenskole* or *vormingsinstitut*) described below [1], in which students were given some choice of recreational or hobby pursuits. It is likely that this element of general education will be included in a wider range of courses for apprentices.

Norway

When the 9-year (7-16) period of schooling becomes compulsory for all in the 1970s, the starting age for apprenticeship will be 16, and all young people will have completed 3 years at a lower secondary school, following the courses described in pp. 46-47 above. Until then, they may start at 14 on completion of the present compulsory minimum of 7 years, or at 15 having added a year of full-time attendance either at a continuation school *(framhaldskole)* whose curriculum includes some instruction in practical subjects, or at a workshop school (*verkstedskole*) offering theoretical and practical pre-apprenticeship courses.

Vocational schooling is compulsory during apprenticeship, and is provided at an apprentice school (*loerlingskoler*) maintained by the public education authorities. This is usually housed in the same premises as a workshop school, and the two combined are called a vocational school (*yrkeskole*).

The aim of the apprentice school is to supply the theoretical knowledge which craftsmen should acquire during apprenticeship, but which is not given in the factory or the place of work. It may also, where necessary, give supplementary practical training, using the facilities of the workshop school for this purpose. The courses provided are part-time, lasting for three years, each of about 8 months' duration (30-31 weeks). 10 hours of instruction per week is the norm. This may be divided into two hours daily for 5 evenings per week, or concentrated into longer periods on fewer days ; attendance for one whole day (which must not exceed 7 hours without the approval of the Ministry) is also possible.

The curricula and syllabuses conform to a standard plan prepared by the Ministry in consultation with employers, trade unions and teachers. About one half of the time in the theoretical course is given to general education, and recent revisions have strengthened the emphasis on such subjects as civics, ethics and foreign languages.

Young skilled workers in other major occupations such as commerce, agriculture, fishery, public services and the merchant navy usually attend full-time courses of from 6 months' to one year's duration at the lower level at appropriate specialised institutions.

Teachers in the vocational schools are mostly skilled craftsmen who, in addition to their craft qualifications, have taken a 6-months full-time course in the pedagogy of practical instruction at a vocational teacher training college (*yrkeslaererskole*).

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1. See p. 96.

Vocational training is compulsory for apprentices, and their employers are legally obliged to provide opportunities for them to participate in classes of related further education. Such courses are normally organised during working hours, and apprentices must be released from work, without loss of wage, to attend them.

The country's economy dictates that its production, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing, professional, financial or tourist sectors, shall incorporate a high degree of skill and technical know-how. In consequence apprenticeships may be served in almost all fields of economic activity.

Successive federal laws on vocational training provide the regulatory framework, and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (*Département de l'Économie publique*) is the responsible authority at federal level. This Ministry's Office of Industry, Arts, Crafts and Labour (OFIAMT), after consultation with cantonal authorities and employers' and workers' organisations, keeps a register of apprenticeship occupations and lays down training curricula. The supervision of training for agriculture is undertaken by a separate section of the same Ministry. Related further education is organised by municipalities, cantons or trade associations approved by the cantonal authorities.

The majority of young people entering industry and commerce after completing their compulsory schooling at 15 (in some cantons 16), become apprentices. According to the federal law on vocational training "Apprenticeship aims at giving the apprentice the skill and knowledge required for his calling, as well as completing his education". The responsibility for practical training throughout the period of apprenticeship (usually 2-4 years) lies with their employers. This may range from working with an individual craftsman in the artisan trades to a systematic programme in a training school or section within a large industrial firm. Some small firms, and others in mountainous districts, pay the full-time workshop schools (see below) to undertake their practical training for them in cases where they are unable to cover the curriculum laid down by OFIAMT. Other small firms (e.g. in the building industry) combine to set up group-training workshops, which the apprentices attend for 4 weeks' residential full-time instruction in each of their three years of apprenticeship.

The compulsory 8 hours per week of related theoretical instruction and general education are provided at a vocational complementary school (*Berufsschule, berufliche Fortbildungschule, école complémentaire professionnelle, lirocinio e corsi per apprendisti, Gewerbeschule, Frauenfachschule*). Day-time attendance during working hours is the normal pattern. Civics, often in the form of the history, geography, economy and government of the homeland, is a compulsory element in the curriculum. Similar schools are provided for young agricultural workers and, in some areas, for girls in service and domestic occupations.

For the minority, an alternative route to apprenticeship is through a 3 or 4-year full-time course at a workshop school (*Lehrwerkstätte*), which aims to provide students with an all-round theoretical and practical training.

Some trade associations, both industrial and commercial, have set up their own vocational schools, offering full-time and part-time courses. These institutions are frequently organised on a supra-cantonal basis and cater for the special needs of particular industries (e.g. hotels and catering, cheesemaking, pharmacy, embroidery). Their curricula and examinations are subject to federal regulation. The federal railway, postal and telecommunications authorities run their own communications schools (*Verkehrschulen*) which provide theoretical instruction related to practical training on the job.

SWEDEN

Provided that a young person has completed the minimum compulsory period of schooling, there are no legal restrictions on the age at which he may either enter or complete an apprenticeship, nor is there any statutory requirement for him to undertake vocational education and training.

Vocational training is supported by a partnership of three major interests : the local authorities, industry and commerce, and the State, with the first two having important powers of initiative in adapting vocational training programmes to changing economic and social needs, and the State providing administrative advice and financial support. The National Board of Education has responsibility for adapting educational programmes to changing manpower needs, and of co-ordinating and planning the organisation of vocational schools.

Traditional craft apprenticeship, with training on the job given by a master craftsman, is of small and diminishing importance. The terms of the apprenticeship contract usually require the master to encourage his apprentices to attend a school for related education or, in some cases, to

take a correspondence course. The school courses may be purely theoretical or theoretical and practical. They may be taken in the evening only, or on one day per week, or in blocks (e.g. of 8 weeks) of continuous full-time attendance. Most contracted apprentices have to follow specific and well defined training programmes, of which complementary theoretical studies at a vocational school are an integral and compulsory part. The content of these studies varies from trade to trade, and there is no uniformity in the general education element. Many programmes include tuition in the mother tongue, industrial safety and labour legislation ; industrial hygiene, social studies with civics, geography, and biology and personal health are also taught in some cases.

The major part of vocational training and education, however, takes the form of full-time courses in vocational schools (*yrkesskolor*) of the following main types :

1. The municipal workshop school (*kommunala verkstadtskolor*), providing full-time courses, usually of 2 years, of theoretical and practical training in the proportion of 12:30 in a 42-hour week. Tuition is free, and the students receive a small grant.

2. The "built-in" workshop school (*inbyggda skola*), created by agreement between the municipal workshop school and an industrial firm, whereby the latter provides the practical training, leaving the school responsible for the related theoretical instruction. The firm receives a subsidy from the State for this function, calculated on the basis of units of 8-16 students. The balance between theory and practice is generally similar to that in the municipal school courses. Although students receive the normal weekly wage for apprentices, they remain entirely under the supervision of the school, whether they are at school or in the factory. Instructors for the practical work have to be approved by the National Board for Vocational Education.

3. The central workshop school (*centrala verkstadskolor*) maintained by the county authorities. These aim to provide full-time vocational training and education for young people in sparsely populated areas broadly similar to that offered by the municipal schools in urban areas. All are boarding schools, the hostel fees being paid by the student or his parents.

4. The company school (*företagsskola*), provided and run by certain large industrial enterprises, and subsidised by the State. Teachers employed by the enterprise provide both the theoretical and practical instruction. Students, though employed and paid by the firm, are not regarded as apprentices in the traditional sense but as full-time students.

To meet a rapidly rising demand from the tertiary sector, provision of education and training for commerce, office work and the distributive trades has been considerably expanded. The courses may be offered in separate schools or in departments of vocational schools described above. The one and two-year full-time commercial courses have proved a popular form of continued education for many girls who have completed their compulsory schooling, even though some do not subsequently seek immediate employment in commerce. The demand for part-time courses is also high. The vocational schools have also met a comparable increase in demand for education and training for the traditional "women's occupations" by providing both part-time and full-time courses in home economics, child care, catering and hospital work.

The teachers of general education subjects in vocational schools have usually received training for work in the compulsory comprehensive school (*grundskola*) to which they may have added further academic study. For the teachers of practical subjects and the related theoretical background, seven years of relevant industrial experience as a highly skilled worker is a normal prerequisite, to which a 33-week programme of teacher training is added. About half the time is given to an education course, the remainder to practice as a probationary teacher. Serving teachers may also be seconded to industry on full pay for a period to refresh their industrial experience. The programme of vacation courses has also been expanded. Training courses for teachers of commercial and other technical subjects may be of 15 weeks' or two years' duration.

Following the publication of a report by the Vocational School Committee in January 1966, a re-structuring of the system of vocational education described above is in progress. Its objective is to reduce or even abolish the boundaries between the different types of school, and to bring vocational schooling into closer relationship with upper secondary education for the 16-20 age group. Greater attention is being paid to general education, while vocational specialisation is being both reduced and postponed to the later stages of courses for all students up to the age of 20. While it is planned that, by the late 1970s, 80 % of young people completing the compulsory comprehensive school course will pass into full-time general and vocational education in the gymnasium or the continuation school (*fackskola*) for at least 2 years, the vocational schools will continue to offer both full-time and part-time courses, probably re-shaped on the lines suggested above. Transfer between courses and institutions will be made easier, and opportunities provided for students to progress to higher education.

The 1944 Education Act (England and Wales) made provision for the introduction of compulsory part-time further education for all young people between the end of the compulsory school period (now 15) and the 18th birthday. This section of the Act has not, however, been implemented. Nor, except for certain trades in which training is a legal requirement for safety reasons, is there any statutory requirement for the compulsory training of apprentices.

Nevertheless, even before the passage of the Industrial Training Act in 1964, many industrial firms, especially the larger ones, provided their own apprentice schools or sections in their works, attendance at which was required by the apprenticeship contract. Such firms, and many others, normally required their apprentices to attend a technical college or college of further education, and released them from work (with wages paid) during normal working hours for this purpose, as did many government departments and local authorities. Thus, a considerable proportion of apprentices were in fact receiving training and/or further education as a condition of their apprenticeship.

The position was, however, unsatisfactory in several respects. Even in industries where apprentice training and further education was well developed, there were many small firms which did not participate. Public administration apart, the whole of the tertiary sector was relatively backward, especially in releasing its young skilled employees for further education in working hours. Finally, whereas in 1963, 30.3% of all boys between 15 and 18 were given this type of release, the percentage for girls was 7.4%. The corresponding percentages for those attending courses of vocational education in the evenings only were 8.2 and 11.4 respectively. It should be noted that these figures were for all young workers, both skilled and unskilled in the 15-18 age-group, and non-participation in further education did not necessarily imply an absence of training at the place of work.

The 1964 Industrial Training Act was designed to extend facilities for training and education more widely throughout the labour force, and especially to young people. Under this Act, Training Boards for each major sector of industry and commerce have been, or are in process of being, set up to assess the manpower and training requirements of their respective industries and to make recommendations on the training appropriate for the various categories of workers and on the courses of further education to be associated with the training. The Boards are empowered to require virtually all employers to pay a levy for training. Firms can then recoup this expenditure by qualifying for grants in respect of training schemes which conform to certain standards prescribed by the Boards. It is the practice of most Boards not to approve any training scheme for apprentices which does not include provision for them to be released to attend an appropriate course of further education during working hours.

The membership of each Board includes employers, trade unionists and representatives of education in the proportion of 5:5:3. The three education members include at least one member from a local education authority, a principal of a technical college, and a teacher from a technical college. Each Board is advised by assessors from the Department of Employment and Productivity and the Department of Education and Science.

Since their inception, the Boards have concentrated on identifying the training requirements of industry and publishing recommendations as to how the necessary training can be carried out. The Boards do not, however, have power to determine the content and conduct of the further education courses, which still remains the responsibility of the education authorities and institutions which have traditionally provided them. The presence of educational representatives on the Boards is nevertheless intended to secure the necessary co-ordination.

While many apprentices still leave full-time schooling at 15 on completion of the minimum compulsory period, there is a growing tendency to stay on until 16, and all will do so when the compulsory period is extended to 16 years in 1972-73. Having entered an apprenticeship, the primary responsibility for their practical training rests with their employers. Concurrently, however, the majority will receive part-time vocational schooling at a college of further education (often called a technical college) provided and maintained by the local education authority, which they will continue to attend until the age of 18, 19 or even longer. For this, they will be released from work, with their wages paid by the employer, for one day per week or its equivalent consolidated into blocks of several weeks' continuous full-time attendance in each year. Additional attendance on one evening per week is fairly common.

At such a college, which also offers a variety of full-time courses of technical or general education, the apprentice will follow a course broadly related to his occupation. If he is an

apprentice craftsman or technician in one of over 200 trades, he will take an appropriate course aimed at examinations set by the City and Guilds of London or a comparable body. Skilled workers in the commercial sector, where apprenticeships are not common, can take courses devised and examined by the Royal Society of Arts or study for a Certificate in Office Studies. The apprentice technician or the commercial equivalent may study for an Ordinary National Certificate in subjects like building, business studies, the physical sciences, engineering, metallurgy, mining, naval architecture or textiles. If the recommendations of a recent report [1] are implemented, it is likely that the present wide variety of courses for technicians will, while retaining the flexibility of the present pattern, be simplified and consolidated by a new Council for the Education of Technicians with national oversight of this sector.

With the responsibility for curricula and examinations shared by a number of independent bodies, there is no uniform national pattern. It is possible, however, to discern an underlying trend which has influenced the whole sector to a greater or lesser degree. Under the impact of technological and social change, many of those responsible, including the public education authorities, have come to take a broader view of the vocational education of young people in skilled employment. As a result, courses which from their earliest stages were narrowly aimed at equipping them once for all with the skill and knowledge necessary to perform a specific role in a particular industry have been progressively broadened. Although retaining a clear industrial orientation, they have been reshaped in the direction of providing a broader basis of general technological, scientific or commercial education, in which specialisation is deliberately deferred until the later stages.

Several factors, some of them common to many member countries and therefore noted elsewhere in this study, have assisted this process. The growth of part-time release during working hours has meant, inter alia, that attendance at college for a whole day per week, rather than in the evenings, has brought a net increase in the time available. More recently, and particularly since the Industrial Training Act, the increase in the amount of training provided within industry itself has led to the reduction of the course time which might otherwise have been spent on teaching practical skills, a very necessary provision when some employers themselves were either unable or unwilling to fulfil this part of the task. In the engineering industry, where both these trends have advanced the furthest, a marked change in the content, balance and approach of many of the further education courses designed for both craft and technician apprentices is in progress.

These influences have reinforced the long-standing concern of both the examining bodies and the public education authorities, including the colleges themselves, to strengthen the generally educative aspects of part-time courses. Since 1961, therefore, they have sought not only to increase the time available but also to ensure that the major part of such extra time is devoted to studies other than those directly related to the students' occupations. In practice this has meant that most City and Guilds and Ordinary National Certificate Courses now stipulate that, provided that a minimum of 240 hours per year is devoted to appropriate technical subjects, the remainder of the time (60-90 hours per year is usually recommended) is given to general studies. This provision for general studies is likely to be included in all technician courses if the recommendations of the Haslegrave Report [2] are implemented. At the time of writing, it is estimated that two thirds of all apprentices and comparably skilled young workers attending part-time courses at further education colleges receive general studies. The amount of time thus spent varies widely, but is usually between 10 and 15 % of the total course time, or from 1 to 1½ hours per week.

Neither the education authorities (national and local) nor the examining bodies publish compulsory syllabuses for general studies. Some guidance is given, but only in the broadest terms, and each college is free (and makes use of its freedom) to devise its own programmes in the light of its interpretation of the needs and interests of its students and of its resources of staff, premises and equipment. Many of them have been influenced by the report of a working party, which included representatives of industry, the principals and teaching staff of the colleges, certain examining bodies, and HM Inspectors. This report was published in 1962 as a pamphlet [3] by the then Ministry of Education. It made a number of suggestions about the content, treatment, and assessment of general studies which, without in any sense being slavishly accepted by the colleges, have had a considerable influence on their approach to what was, for many of them, a new departure in further education.

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1. Report of the Committee on Technician Courses and Examinations (known as the "Haslegrave Report"), Department of Education and Science, HMSO, London 1969.
2. Op. cit., p. 179.
3. *General Studies in Technical Colleges*, Ministry of Education, HMSO, London 1962.

Although there are almost as many programmes of general studies as there are colleges, the
are features which are common to a significant number of them. The two subjects most frequent
offered are the mother tongue (sometimes called communications) and social studies. These may
taught separately, or as a combined operation, with the subject matter of social studies providi
the theme and the incentive for students to practise and improve their performance in speakin
reading and writing. Social studies is broadly and flexibly treated, ranging from "civics" in t
traditional sense to the discussion of many problems of contemporary society which have
particular impact on the young workers, such as personal relationships, the mass media, crime a
punishment, teenage culture, world poverty. Many programmes include physical activities, whe
the opportunity is often taken to introduce students to as wide a variety of sports, games and ou
door pursuits as time and premises allow. Arts and crafts, including painting, modelling, potte
music, drama and photography are offered by some colleges. Fashion, beauty culture, dre
cookery and child care form part of some programmes for girls, with the emphasis on the intere
of the modern young woman rather than on traditional domestic science. Students are oft
encouraged to pursue these interests and activities in the clubs and societies which are part of t
corporate life of many colleges. Outside visits and short residential courses provide other opport
ities for them to extend their range of social and aesthetic experiences.

This rapid development has led most colleges to appoint full-time teachers whose ma
concern is with general studies. Part-time teachers with relevant qualifications and skills are a
employed, sometimes to meet new needs or minority interests. Graduates in the humanities a
the social sciences predominate, and a substantial number of non-graduate trained teachers, mai
with experience in secondary schools, have also been attracted to this work. Most colleges have
least one specialist teacher of music, physical education, art, or speech and drama. Together t
may form a separate department or a substantial section of an existing department of the colle
and the provision of the general studies element in part-time technical courses is a major responsi
ity. They are often reinforced by teachers from other departments of the college who may not o
have relevant interests and skills to offer, but also have a keen interest in this aspect of t
students' personal, social and general education.

Although the supply of teachers with pedagogic training for further education does no
meet the demand, all four Colleges of Education (Technical) offer both full-time, sand
and day-release courses for intending teachers of general studies who have appropriate su
qualifications.

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PART IV

THE CONTINUED EDUCATION OF YOUNG UNSKILLED WORKERS

1. *Who are the unskilled ?*

(i) The young people with whom this chapter is concerned

— are between 14 and 18 years of age ;

— have terminated their schooling at the end of the minimum compulsory period ;

— are working in occupations for which any training or further education beyond the minimum necessary for them to meet their employers' immediate requirements is not a condition of their employment.

(ii) The proportion of the 14-18 age group which they constitute in each country is therefore determined by three factors :

— the terminal date of compulsory schooling ;

— the proportion remaining in full-time education after this date ;

— the range and availability of jobs for which substantial further training and/or education is either compulsory or a condition of employment.

(iii) As there is considerable variation among member countries in the operation of these factors, there are correspondingly wide differences in the size and composition of the group of young people concerned. In country 'A' for example, where the majority leave school at 14 or even earlier, and where post-school education and training are undeveloped, the proportion may be as high as 75 %. In country 'B', on the other hand, where the three factors operate more positively, it may be as low as 20 %. In quantitative terms alone, therefore, the problem of providing continued education is of major dimensions in country 'A', while in country 'B' it is residual. Again, in country 'A', the group must inevitably contain many young people who, if they had been born in country 'B', would either be in full-time education or working in skilled occupations requiring them to undertake further education and training. As between the two countries, therefore, there will be wide differences in the quality of education which is required, and the context in which it can be offered.

(iv) Can any meaningful generalisations be made about such a heterogeneous group of young people — sufficiently meaningful, that is, to form the basis for a European concept of their needs for continued education ?

2. *Work and training*

(i) One salient characteristic is that the great majority are employed in the production of goods and services for which they receive an income in cash or in kind. For their employers, this income is a cost of production ; for the young workers and their families it is a means of livelihood. Any arrangements for continued education must therefore take account of this basic fact, in the sense that any loss of immediate production or income will need to be compensated by social or economic advantages which are apparent to employers and young workers alike.

(ii) In the case of apprentices, as was seen earlier, the first years at work are increasingly regarded as a continued learning process for which employers and educational agencies are jointly, and in many countries, compulsorily responsible. There is no such consensus on the needs of the unskilled worker. In no European country, for instance, is it as yet compulsory for them to receive training on the job. Such training as is necessary for the worker to contribute to the productive process is, of course, provided by employers, but it rarely extends beyond the immediate task in hand. In a large firm, it may take the form of a properly organised induction course, but in many cases the young employee learns by "sitting next to Nelly" (an older and more experienced worker) or by just picking up the job as he goes along. In countries (e.g. the Federal Republic) where training programmes have been evolved for an unusually wide spread of occupations, including many which would elsewhere be regarded as unskilled or semi-skilled, the proportion of young workers receiving no systematic training has been considerably reduced. The closer attention which many countries are now giving to identifying skills over a wider occupational spectrum, and to devising appropriate training programmes for them may well lead to a progressive reduction elsewhere. But if one looks at the nature of much unskilled work, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there will still be an irreducible minimum of jobs whose adequate performance requires so little skill, either manipulative or social, that it cannot form the basis of systematic or extended training. The fact that many of these jobs are so transitory, seasonal, or completely "dead-end", only reinforces the tendency of both employers and workers to regard them as offering no real opportunity for the sort of continuity and progression necessary to justify organised training. If one adds such factors as the frequently high turnover of juvenile labour in conditions of full

employment, and the shortening of the pre-marital working life of so many young women, it is clear that the potential contribution of practical training for their present occupations to the educative development of many young workers will be either meagre or non-existent. It would therefore be unwise to make occupational training, in this limited sense, as substantial a determinant of their continued education as it is for their more skilled contemporaries.

(iii) This situation suggests a number of rather different lines of argument.

The first is that, whether on grounds of social justice or economic prudence, no young worker should be deprived of opportunities for training. If his present job neither requires nor provides it, then it should be provided off the job, preferably in a publicly-maintained vocational school or centre. Such training, the argument runs, should not be narrowly tied to a specific job, but should introduce him to a variety of practical skills which may give him greater confidence and flexibility when, as he so often must, he moves from one job to another in the same or a different industry. For young people who, after minimal schooling and inadequate guidance, have drifted into unskilled work, such training could also be diagnostic, awakening their dormant interests and motivating them to seek more durable and progressive employment. To use the terminology of 1 (iii) above, a type 'A' country could well conclude that the provision of "off-the-job" training opportunities of this kind should be given high priority. Even in country 'B', especially if its vocational training schools were well developed, it could be an attractive means of ensuring that any young person, however great his initial handicap, or delayed his development, should at least have the chance of vocational self-improvement. Thus it is that, at the Baden Seminar, a number of member countries, and not only those of type 'A', laid considerable emphasis on the vocational and promotional aspects of continued education for the unskilled. Significantly, though, they nearly all gave higher priority to the training and re-training of unskilled adults than they did to the initial training of younger people.

An alternative approach is based on a somewhat broader interpretation of the educational significance of the work situation. Its protagonists would question the feasibility of providing practical skill-training which is sufficiently varied, flexible and relevant to meet the needs of a mobile juvenile labour force with such limited short-term objectives. Instead, they point to certain characteristics common to all young workers which might offer a surer basis for their continued education. The very fact of leaving school and going to work brings radical changes of role and relationships for which they are often ill prepared. Although they can and do learn by experience, the process is often unnecessarily painful and perilous for want of the information and sympathetic guidance which continuing contact with an educational institution could provide. Their work experience needs reinforcing with a broader understanding of the purpose and functions of industry, of the rights and obligations of employers and employees. They need to be aware of the provision made for their health and safety at work. Receiving an income for the first time, they will need to know something of its relationship to the work they do, to costs of production and to the profitability of the enterprise. All these and many other aspects of introduction to working life, it is contended, are rarely learned or discussed by young people in any systematic way. This broader interpretation of the need for vocational relevance was reflected in the final recommendations of the Baden Seminar, which emphasised "that continued education, granted that those receiving it spend the greater part of their time in an occupation, must necessarily, in its method, establish as many links as possible with that occupation and derive its inspiration from it".

A third strand of argument, also put forward at Baden, stresses the inadequacy of the educational base from which many young people embark on their working lives. Despite recent reforms, their post-primary or lower secondary education is of short duration and restricted content. Their scientific knowledge and understanding is manifestly insufficient to enable them to meet the demands of an increasingly technological age. If only to equip them for the further training or re-training, continued education must therefore include an element of general scientific training.

(iv) The occupational situation, therefore, indicates three possible elements in the content of continued education, the need for which will vary according to the situation in a particular country and the composition of the group of young people concerned.

(*a*) Practical training, more or less related either to a specific or to a limited range of occupations.

(*b*) A progressive introduction to working life which, though not tied to the young worker's present occupation, is directly related to the situation which he faces as a young worker.

(*a*) Continued general education, directed especially to increasing understanding of mathematical and scientific processes, and ability to apply them to new problems and situations.

3. *Education for adult life*

(i) Overriding all the international differences in their working situation and prospects, however, is the central fact that all the members of this group are young people at a vital stage in their progress from childhood to full adult life. There are three aspects of this preparatory process which are of particular importance for continued education.

(*a*) Since adult life brings citizenship, it should be prepared for. In the complex, pluralistic society of to-day, this preparation involves far more than an understanding of the formal machinery of central and local government. Man's social environment is shaped by many other agencies whose working and interaction he needs to understand, and in whose control he needs to participate if he is not to become a mere passive recipient, manipulated by forces which may seem at once powerful, remote and anonymous. If the unskilled are not to find themselves increasingly helpless in face of forces which they can neither understand or control, they need the sort of education which will enable them not only to vote at elections but to be active members of tenants' associations, trade union branches, parents' associations and the many other local groups through which private citizens make their voices heard and their influence felt.

(*b*) As hours of work shorten and incomes rise, the possibilities of leisure which is more than "vegetative recuperation" [1] are opened to an ever-increasing proportion of the population. For many, this has already led to the development of leisure-time pursuits which centre round their homes, their cars, and on the widening range of sports and outdoor recreations for which they now have the time, and the money. Since these pursuits call for the knowledgeable use of materials, tools and equipment, what one writer has called "the techniques of active leisure" have to be mastered before it can be fully enjoyed. And this is only one aspect of cultural emancipation in its broadest sense. The days when the great majority of citizens were cut off by poverty and ignorance from at least the possibility of enjoying the rich heritage of art, crafts, music, literature and drama are passing. Through the progressive liberalisation of curricula, more and more young people have the opportunity of practising the arts in both primary and secondary schools. If these beginnings are to mature into abiding adult interests, they will need encouragement through similar opportunities in continued education.

(*c*) As young men and women growing up to courtship, marriage and parenthood, young workers face common problems of belief and conduct. The mass media of radio, cinema, television, popular newspapers and magazines, which are so often the staples of their leisure time, have broken down innocence as well as ignorance. Through their distorting mirror, the modern world can seem to be a place where greed, brutality, hypocrisy and the unthinking pursuit of immediate physical satisfactions are increasingly tolerated. In face of this many young people, in whom idealism is still strong, are seriously troubled as they seek for values by which to shape their emergent adult lives. For them, the transition from the relatively protected world of full-time schooling to the more hazardous, pressurised world of adult work and leisure coincides with the disturbing physical and emotional changes of adolescence. To help them to navigate this difficult passage is a challenge which any form of continued education designed for this stage of their lives cannot ignore.

(ii) In addition to those deriving from their occupational situation, therefore, three further desirable elements of continued education emerge from this consideration of their future needs as adults :

— preparation for full participation in all aspects of community life ;
— education for leisure ;
— help in forming good moral standards and in establishing durable personal relationships.

The progressive fulfilment of the needs presents a considerable challenge to all those who come into contact with young workers and have responsibility and concern for their welfare. Since many of these young people lose touch with any organised form of educational provision after they leave school, the recognised educational agencies can play only a limited part alongside many others. The Baden Seminar pointed to the responsibility of those controlling the means of mass communication and entertainment as purveyors of informal education, a responsibility which was not always recognised or discharged in socially helpful ways. They also stressed that adults in many profession like medicine, social work and the police, are often in a position to give helpful guidance to the young, and that their professional training should therefore include elements which would equip them to do so. Similarly, the training of managers and supervisors in industry and commerce should stress the special responsibility of employers for the further education and training of young employees, and the facilities available for it.

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1. J.A. Simpson, *Permanent Education (England and Wales)*, Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Co-operation, Committee for Out-of-School Education, Strasbourg 1969.

Whatever the contribution might be from other sources, however, a major responsibility rests, or should rest with the education authorities, and it is to review some principal features of the current provision in member countries that we now turn.

4. *Provision for continued education*

(i) Most countries in post-war Europe have given first priority to extending and democratising full-time schooling, and to opening the routes to upper secondary, higher academic and technological education. Almost equally high priority has been given to augmenting provision for the training and education of young skilled workers. The fulfilment of these aims, though not yet complete in even the more prosperous countries, has made great demands on the available resources, and will continue to do so. The continued education of young unskilled workers has consequently enjoyed relatively low priority, and the pace of development has been uneven and slow. A number of countries have nevertheless built up useful experience in this field, and others are giving increasing attention to reforming and developing their provision.

5. *Release from work*

(i) It is clearly an important step forward when a country makes it compulsory for all young workers to be released during working hours to continue their education on a part-time basis. In the Federal Republic this was achieved in 1918. 18 of the 25 cantons of Switzerland have a similar requirement ; in the Austrian province of Vorarlberg, it is compulsory for girls.

(ii) Though not compulsory, it receives varying degrees of official encouragement in the Netherlands, Denmark and the United Kingdom. Provision of facilities for paid or unpaid cultural leave (*congé culturel*) is made in some countries (e.g. Belgium) although it is usually adults who take most advantage of it.

(iii) Where it is not compulsory, young workers seeking to continue their vocational or general education must do so of their own volition and outside working hours, although they may be encouraged to do so by financial incentives from their employers, as in Belgium. For their continued social, physical and cultural education, all countries offer clubs and societies for young people organised either by the State or by religious, adult education, trade union political, and sporting organisations. These too, must be enjoyed in the consumers' own leisure time and side by side with a proliferation of attractive commercial provision for the relaxation and entertainment of young people with money to spend.

(iv) Having reviewed these arrangements, and being aware that few member countries envisaged any early extension of release from work for these young people, the Baden Seminar recommended that :

— "In those countries where the further education and training of certain categories of young skilled workers is regulated by law, these categories should be progressively extended to all young workers ;

— In those countries where such arrangements are on a voluntary basis, the desirability of making them compulsory, whether for employers or young workers, should be kept continuously under review."

(v) The principle behind these recommendations is that all young workers need further education and that it should be an aim of future policy to ensure that they receive it. It also implies that unskilled workers should have the same opportunities as their more skilled contemporaries for release from their employment during working hours to receive further education.

6. *The institutions*

(i) In the Federal Republic where, for the skilled and unskilled alike, day-release has been compulsory since 1918, the vocational school (*Berufsschule*) has developed as an institution whose main purpose is to provide part-time day courses. It is essentially a trade school aiming to serve the occupationally-related educational needs of apprentices and trainees. Because of the wide spread of these apprenticeships and traineeships, unskilled workers form a relatively small minority of the student body, and the courses they follow are strongly flavoured by the provision made for the apprentices and trainees who make up the majority.

(ii) In Switzerland, where compulsory day-release is widespread, cantonal autonomy has led to a variety of institutions. The most common type used to be the part-time complementary or continuation school catering specifically for the unskilled employee or young person working at home or in the family undertaking. Their purpose was to provide additional or remedial general education for those who had not reached acceptable minimum standards by the end of their

compulsory schooling, and to add appropriate elements of cultural and civic education. While many schools hold firmly to these broad objectives, they are taking on a more explicit vocational character, and there is a general trend towards transforming them into, or amalgamating them with, vocational complementary schools catering for apprentices and trainees.

(iii) Though very much the product of an almost unique combination of local circumstances, the vocational housecraft schools in the Vorarlberg province of Austria provide an interesting example of a part-time institution of continued education for young women workers operating in a context of compulsory attendance. Quite separate from vocational schools for skilled workers, they retain their traditional aim of fostering the development of their students as young women and preparing them for marriage and family responsibilities.

(iv) In England and Wales, the relatively small numbers of young unskilled workers who are granted day-release by their employers attend colleges of further education. The granting of such release is confined to a small number of relatively large employers, so that only a minority of colleges have substantial experience in providing for this type of student. The rapid growth of liberal and general studies as a compulsory element in courses for apprentices has enriched the resources of staff and experience available to meet the less vocationally slanted needs of the unskilled. It has also had an important influence on premises. An increasing number of new colleges include such facilities as gymnasia, games halls, and studios for art, craft and music, while their domestic science suites offer a helpful context for education in dress, child care and home-making. It must be recorded, however, that the majority of further education colleges are mainly preoccupied with vocational courses for the relatively skilled.

(v) The most interesting and substantial example of institutions catering specifically for the young unskilled worker is provided by the Netherlands. Variously called *Mater Amabilis Lerenscholen* or *Vormings-instituten*, these schools are either denominationally or municipally sponsored, with financial aid towards buildings and teachers' salaries provided by central and local education authority funds. Some are attached to vocational schools, but many are physically and organisationally quite separate establishments. In translation, the most apt generic title for them is "schools for living". They are attended by young workers between 15 and 18 years of age not in any other form of further education, who are released voluntarily by their employers, without loss of earnings, for one or more commonly half a day per week. In 1969, some 41,000 young workers (21,000 girls) were attending. Some of the newest of these institutions have their own purpose-built premises whose design expresses their distinctive philosophy, offering good facilities for a variety of physical education and recreation, for art, craft and hobby activities, and for music, photography and drama. Their furniture and lay-out are far removed from the traditional classroom. The teaching staff are drawn from widely varying backgrounds ; many have had training or experience in youth leadership and other forms of social work.

(vi) The institutions so far described exist to serve, either wholly or predominantly, the young worker granted release from employment for up to one day per week. Though not central to this study, two other types of provision deserve mention.

The first is exemplified by the municipal youth schools (*ungdomskolen*) in Denmark. These operate only in the evenings and cater both for young workers and full-time school pupils, and offer a mixed programme of contained general vocational and social education on two or three nights per week. They normally meet in day school premises, and the principals of all but the largest teach part time during the day. Organisationally, however, they are separate institutions, and have certain purpose-built accommodation for their exclusive use. This type of provision is by no means peculiar to Denmark, since they have many features in common, for example, with the junior evening institutes which were once common in a number of large English cities. But they do represent an interesting, if transitional, form of provision which can later be developed on a part-time day basis if and when release from employment becomes more widespread.

The second type, also to be found in Denmark, but potentially applicable to other countries is the youth folk high school (*efterskole*) already described in Part II [1]. Although such residential schools are primarily for those who leave main school and yet wish to continue their full-time schooling for periods varying from a few months to a year, they are potentially adaptable for young workers in much the same way as the folk high schools proper cater for adults. To make this possible for young industrial workers, the common pattern of weekly day-release would need to follow that already established in agriculture and other occupations with a "close" season, i.e. the concentration of the weekly days into an annual continuous period long enough to enable young people to have a real experience of residential education away from their everyday home and

1. See above, pp. 35-36.

working environment. The youth service and adult education agencies in many member countries maintain residential establishments in which provision of this type is already made, usually for shorter periods of a few days, and could be further developed as young workers' rights to release from employment are progressively established, and the value of experiences of residential education in fostering independence, wider interests and more mature social relationships gains appropriate recognition.

7. *Objectives and programmes*

(i) The broad objective of all these institutions is to help young people through the transition from school to adult life, but they differ considerably in the means of putting it into practice. Two main lines of thought can be discerned :

(*a*) The first, which is much influenced by the type of training-related courses provided for apprentices, stresses the development of competence in a particular work situation.

(*b*) The second is more concerned with his total development as a young person and emergent adult.

(ii) Some element of each of these approaches is discernible in all the courses currently provided for unskilled workers, but there are wide differences in the extent to which they have influenced what is offered.

(iii) In the Federal Republic, the first tends to predominate. Young unskilled workers attend vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*) where they form, on average, only one sixth of the student body, and are therefore considerably outnumbered by apprentices and trainees. In the smaller schools where they are too few to be organised as a separate group, they frequently join classes for apprentices or trainees in occupations more or less related to their own, and share the same curriculum. In the larger schools, they may be put in separate classes whose programme is not so closely related to a specific trade or occupation, but is broadly related towards an industry or a group of allied occupations (e.g. work in wood or metal, or in the construction industry). Efforts are made, wherever possible, to provide some limited practical training. Some programmes take account of the fact that many young workers of this type change their job frequently and may be in need of further vocational orientation. That of the *Berufsschule* in Wiesbaden (Hesse), for instance, provides for half the time in the first year to be spent on woodwork, half the second on metalwork, and half the third on building, electrical and painting and decorating work, with the aim of giving students an introduction to the practical skills in some of the main trades which employ a proportion of unskilled workers. Programmes for unskilled groups normally devote more time to general education subjects than do those for apprentices. Prescribed by each *Land* Ministry of Education, they include religion, civics, social studies, calculations and further practice in the mother tongue. Teachers of these subjects are often encouraged to treat them flexibly and to arrange visits to firms, the law courts, the theatre and to other places in the locality which may broaden their students' horizons and awaken new interests.

(iv) In the United Kingdom, the City and Guilds of London Institute, in co-operation with the Training Boards for major industries like engineering and iron and steel, offers courses for junior operatives, a broad category which includes a variety of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. That for the engineering and allied industries [1] is designed as a one-year day-release course of 240 hours' study ; its curriculum has four main components, the first two half of the timetable :

(*a*) a published common syllabus for basic metal studies, covering materials, processes, heat treatment and joining methods ;

(*b*) further technical studies, which each college providing the course is free to devise for itself. This provides for studies supporting the basic metal syllabus, and adapted to the particular needs of local industry ;

(*c*) calculations and communications. The published syllabus consists only of broad topic headings, covering the simpler methods of calculation and measurement, graphic representation, and verbal and written communications ;

(*d*) general studies. Colleges are again free to devise their own curricula within the following broad guide lines : "This section of the course is intended to develop the student's ability to absorb, interpret and transmit information, whether in spoken or written form, to contribute to his general education and personal development. The student should be encouraged to take an intelligent and enquiring interest in the world around him, preferably with particular reference to the locality in

1. *Course No. 444 for Junior Operatives*, City & Guilds of London Institute, 76 Portland Place, London W1.

which he lives and the industry in which he works. The stimulation of leisure activities will become of increasing importance as the time available for such activities increases [1]".

(v) Though taking full account of the students' occupational situation, these courses are not primarily designed to teach immediately applicable job knowledge, but are intended rather to continue and extend the development of the student both as a young worker and as a young person. The equal division of time between technical and general education, and the individual college's freedom to shape syllabuses to meet its students' needs and the local industrial situation make this type of course an interesting attempt to meet both the vocational and personal needs of the young male unskilled worker.

(vi) The courses provided in many complementary schools in Switzerland are developing a similar balance between the vocational and general elements. They were originally meant to provide additional or remedial general education for those who had not reached acceptable minimum standards by the end of their compulsory schooling, and to add elements of cultural and civic education appropriate to young workers. Each canton tended to evolve its own curricula, and the subjects most frequently included were the mother tongue and other languages spoken in the Federation, arithmetic and simple accounts, civics, vocational studies, character training, hygiene, singing, drawing, and physical education. Such courses are still provided in some cantons, and last from 1 to 4 years, with up to 120 hours in each year. They are, however, being superseded by complementary vocational courses. In those for young agricultural workers, for example, vocational studies designed to give a broad introduction to agriculture and horticulture occupy half the timetable. Often held in winter, they are spread over 3 years, with 80 to 160 hours in each year. The general education element is still substantial, and the languages of the mother country, calculations and civics are common to all curricula. While not to train for a specific job, these courses use the student's vocational role as an integrating and motivating influence. Teachers are encouraged to treat calculations in such practical contexts as crop yields, land areas and product costs and prices ; civics, it is suggested, might well begin with the place of agriculture in the federal economy, while the songs and poetry of the countryside, as well as crop reports, may find a place in the study of the mother tongue.

(vii) Though providing for evening rather than part-time day students, Denmark's municipal youth schools offer a rather different example of institutions whose programmes combine general, social and vocational elements. Here, young workers can follow a course leading to examinations equivalent to those which they would have taken had they stayed on for a ninth or tenth year of full-time schooling, or they can accumulate subject passes qualifying them to enter further technical education. A variety of hobby subjects are also offered, and all students may join the youth club which is an integral part of the school. For the first month after enrolment, all students take a 24-hour course (2 nights per week for 4 weeks) in "youth orientation". A typical programme includes such topics as deliquency, the mass media, group psychology, civil defence, and the rights and responsibilities of young people. Much use is made of group discussion which the teachers claim gives them a valuable opportunity to get to know their students.

(viii) The programmes of the "schools for living" in the Netherlands have hardly any elements which relate to the specific occupations of the young workers who attend them. These institutions, which are not schools in the traditional sense, had their origins in the devastation and disturbance of the aftermath of the second world war, when great concern was felt for the welfare of young factory workers, especially girls, who lost all contact with education after they completed their compulsory schooling. Although many new schools of this type have been opened in the last 15 years (there were 360 in 1966), their main objective is still to help young school leavers through the difficult transition to working life. "Young people pass abruptly from sheltered surroundings into the adult world at a vulnerable age. Before their personality has fully developed, many of them encounter problems which they cannot face up to. The earlier they leave school, the greater difficulty they have in solving them [2]." These schools therefore offer them informal education and sympathetic adult guidance during their entry to the adult community and on the road to maturity. "The idea is not to train them for any specific occupation, nor do these institutions seek to increase the students' general education... Accordingly, they are not schools in the accepted sense of the word ; they differ from schools not only in the subjects taught, but in the teaching methods used [1]." There are no prescribed syllabuses and there is a considerable diversity of ways in which these aims are realised in practice. The general trend, however, is strongly away from the conventional timetable and formal instruction towards a flexible programme of activities based

1. Op. cit., p. 8.
2. "Educational institutions in the Netherlands for children above school leaving age" (a paper presented to the Interlaken Seminar by the Netherlands delegation).

on students' own expressed needs and interests. Thus, during a half-day's release, young workers can follow a programme which includes physical education and sports, craft and hobby activities, and group discussion of topics arising from their living and working situation. For those attending for a whole day, the programme is widened to include drama, music, and outside visits, sometimes linked with social surveys involving first-hand enquiry and personal interviews conducted by the students themselves. Week-end camps and other outdoor pursuits are also organised. In schools for girls (only some municipal schools are for both sexes), preparation for marriage, motherhood and domestic responsibilities are given greater emphasis, but these, too, are sharing in the general trend towards catering for a wider range of interests. Great importance is attached to counselling and guidance, with teachers and students working together in small groups in comfortable informal surroundings.

(ix) Although girls share some of the programmes described above, a number of member countries make special provision, often in single-sex classes or institutions, for what are thought to be their special needs. Though not necessarily typical, the vocational housecraft schools in the Vorarlberg province of Austria illustrate one approach. Here, the majority of students are employed in the textile, engineering and handicraft industries. In the common curriculum prescribed by the Federal Ministry of Education, about two thirds of the time is devoted to domestic science and girls' crafts, and the remaining third to religious instruction, the mother tongue, arithmetic, hygiene, child care and education for everyday life. The official guidance to teachers on objectives and methods stresses the need for relevance to the realities of contemporary life, and for close integration between theoretical, practical and general education. The main emphasis is clearly on preparing young women to be wives and mothers, but discussion of wider participation in civic, cultural and economic life is explicitly encouraged. In their essentials, the day-release programmes for young unskilled women workers provided in certain parts of the German Federal Republic and Switzerland are very similar, since the institutions most commonly attended are housecraft schools or departments. There are many educationists and employers who would contend that this form of provision is relevant and realistic for the young women for whom it is designed. Despite widening employment opportunities for girls, repetitive machine and light assembly work or "unskilled" employment in the service and distributive trades remain popular ways of filling in the time between leaving school and marriage, and a means of full or part-time earning thereafter. An equally strong body of informed opinion would contend that too narrow a concentration on "housecraft" in the traditional sense is increasingly out of tune with economic and social change. It has, for example, been suggested that the time spent on domestic science could be reduced in favour of more sustained personal and vocational guidance, greater attention to artistic education, and a broader preparation for leisure. Perhaps the most challenging line of thought, which finds many supporters, especially in the Scandinavian countries, would point to the more equal partnership between the sexes which is a growing feature of marital and family relationships, and would advocate that education for home-making should be an integral part of the continued education of young men and women alike.

(x) The final example in this review of programmes is included not only for the intrinsic interest of its content but also because it is designed for a block-release context. It has been developed by an English college of further education for young male and female operatives mainly engaged in repetitive production work. In each of two successive years, they are released without loss of wages for two 4-week periods of continuous attendance at the college. Before their first period, the employing firms provide an induction course, in which members of the college staff take part. An unusual feature, but one to which great importance is attached, is that one week of the second 4-week block in each year is spent at a residential centre in the countryside outside the city in which the college is situated.

The curriculum for the 7 weeks spent in college is :

Communications	21 hours
Industrial safety and first aid	21 hours
Elementary technology	31½ hours
The product and the consumer	10½ hours
Adjustment to industry - general studies	21 hours
General appreciation of design	21 hours
Household maintenance and repairs	21 hours
Physical education and personal hygiene	21 hours
Personal record book	10½ hours
Personal and group tutorials	10½ hours
"Eating and drinking" *or* motor-car maintenance *or* woodwork	21 hours
	210 hours

During the one-week residential period, students are introduced to a number of cultural and physical activities designed to provide opportunities for the discovery of new interests. In small groups, they undertake projects which may be the first-hand study of a nearby town or village, including the way it is governed, how its people are employed, its social services and leisure facilities, or of a local industry, including its products, its organisation, people who work in it, its training policy and plans for development. These groups go out on their own, gathering and recording information and interviewing members of the community or firm which is the focus of their project. Perhaps the most valuable part of the operation is the opportunity it provides for young people to live and work together away from home and in an unfamiliar setting. It not only helps them to develop new relationships with each other, but with their teachers who are also in residence.

It should be stressed that this course is by no means representative, either in form or content, of the continued education provision for young unskilled workers in England. It is the product of unusually helpful circumstances. The firms concerned employ a relatively large proportion of unskilled workers, and attach sufficient importance to their development as young people to release them voluntarily to attend the course. This practice considerably antedates the 1964 Industrial Training Act which gave them some financial incentive to do so. The college, which developed from an old-established day continuation school, has a long tradition of flexible and imaginative provision for young workers who are not seeking any recognised vocational qualifications. Through its close co-operation with firms it has developed a sympathetic understanding of their needs and requirements as employers, which has been successfully combined with its own wider purposes as an educational institution. Finally, the absence of centrally prescribed and detailed syllabuses in this sector of further education in England has left the college free to develop balanced programmes of informal, personal education which, in conception and method, owe much to the best practices in the youth service and adult education.

PART V

THE TEACHERS

1. *Introduction*

"Whatever happens in the schools depends on the men and women who staff them. Imaginative accommodation, modern equipment, skilful organisation, a determined attack on social and economic handicaps—all of these are necessary to progress, but the key figure remains the teacher." So said the report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) on the education of pupils aged 13 to 16 of average and less than average ability [1].

The high demands made by continued education pupils on their teachers were fully appreciated by the Seminars at Interlaken and Baden. While not wishing to enter into the whole field of teacher recruitment and training, they felt bound to consider the qualities and qualifications desirable for teachers concerned. It is significant that, although the Interlaken Seminar was concerned with pupils in full-time schooling, and the Baden Seminar with young people in paid employment, their discussions on teachers showed a substantial unanimity of view. This chapter therefore begins with a composite paraphrase of the recommendations made in the final reports of both Seminars. It continues with their observations on the implications for teacher training, and concludes with a discussion of some of the problems involved.

2. *Qualities and qualifications*

A prime quality must clearly be a humane and sympathetic interest in young people whose abilities and attainments are limited and whose way of life and attitudes to learning may be very different from those of the teacher. This interest and sympathy, it must be added, have also to be sustained at a stage in many young people's development when they appear most at odds with themselves and with adult authority, and are bored or even resentful at being required to continue their education.

Such an understanding cannot be wholly gained from a relationship that begins and ends in the classroom. The methods outlined in Part II require not only a keen concern for the sort of progress which is measured by the familiar academic yardsticks, but also an equal desire to foster the social and personal skills which turn a child into a young adult. While the teacher will be only one among the many agencies concerned in this process, his role is nevertheless vital. He will often be called on to extend his range of work outside the classroom and to share in a variety of less formal contacts with his pupils. In this way, relationships can be extended, deepened and developed in a variety of situations.

Although any teacher must, inevitably, have spent substantially more than the average time in full-time education in order to enter the profession, as wide an experience of life and work outside education can clearly be helpful. This applies not only to the teacher of the practical and technical subjects, for whom a first-hand knowledge of the world of work can bring realism to his teaching, but also to the teacher of so-called 'general' subjects, which are often those which seem to his pupils to be most remote from the world of their everyday experience. This is not to argue that teachers should devalue their professional standards, but rather that they should be able to look at them afresh from a rather different point of view, and to adjust them in the light of this reappraisal.

This understanding and experience must be allied to a degree of professional skill which is certainly not inferior, though it is different from that deployed in other forms of teaching. Such skill is compounded no less of a command of varied teaching methods than of a high level of relevant subject knowledge, which must be re-interpreted in ways which are meaningful to pupils who are less ready than their abler or more committed contemporaries to accept the traditional disciplines of study.

If a curriculum divided into conventional subject compartments is to be replaced by a more integrated regime, this requires new relationships both between the subjects themselves and between the people who teach them. While still retaining their responsibility for certain areas of knowledge, they will often teach as a team, with each member contributing his particular expertise to a joint study or project which cuts across or transcends subject boundaries.

Teamwork and co-operation are also the key factor in the educational and vocational guidance which is coming increasingly to characterise the lower secondary stage. Here the teamwork is not only pedagogic but implies continuing co-operation in observation, diagnosis and advice, in which each teacher plays his part in building up the total picture of each pupil's emergent and changing aptitudes, attainments and aspirations.

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1. Op. cit., p. 16.

3. *Some implications for initial teacher training*

All teachers, whether concerned with senior elementary and lower secondary pupils, or with young workers undergoing further training and education, need to study the psychology of the adolescent during their training. Not only do they need to appreciate basic relationships between the growth, maturation and learning of the individual boy or girl, but they should be fully aware of the interaction between the individual and the variety of groups in which, at different times and in different situations, he is both a member and a learner. Of particular importance for those teaching continued education pupils will be a study of the effects of home and family environment on the development of language and of the diagnosis of forms of intelligence and aptitude other than those which find their most ready expression in words and symbols.

An introduction to sociological study is equally important to enable teachers to see their own and the school's role in perspective, and to understand the social origins of their pupils' attitudes and difficulties. That social and environmental studies, including economics, are only slowly finding their way into upper secondary curricula followed by many intending teachers during their school-days is an additional reason why it should be an integral part of their professional training. An acquaintance with the methods of enquiry used in the social sciences can also help them to guide their pupils' studies of contemporary social phenomena and problems.

Although the capacity for establishing informal relationships with his pupils may well be a function of the basic personality of the would-be teacher, there is much that he may yet learn by imaginative training. If his studies of non-traditional pedagogy can be complemented by first-hand experience of working with young people—in youth clubs and societies, in *colonies de vacances*, on school camps and expeditions, it can help him to realise the learning value of recreation as well as broadening his range of social experience. It is perhaps a helpful feature of much modern teen-age culture that its fashions, its idols and its leisure-time pursuits appeal to all sorts and conditions of young people, irrespective of social privilege and educational background.

Since every teacher of pupils who are soon to enter, or have entered employment is concerned with both educational and vocational guidance, it is essential that his training should help to prepare him for this part of his task. While only a few will need a full specialist training in this work, all trainee teachers will require an introduction to the theory and practice of guidance to enable them to appreciate its purpose and to play their part in guidance procedures. Some background knowledge of the labour market, desirably reinforced by first-hand contact with the actual working conditions in industry and commerce could deepen their understanding of their pupils' needs. Similarly, as continued education increasingly loses its "terminal" character and is transformed into a stage in the way to further education and training, teachers will need to know something of the widening opportunities which are open to their pupils at the succeeding stage, whether in situations of general or vocational, full-time or part-time education, or within industry itself.

It is significant that, despite the wide differences of school structure, and therefore of provision for continued education in the countries represented at the Baden and Interlaken Seminars, there was broad agreement on this basic prescription. There was agreement, too, that special training of this type was, as yet, rarely provided by existing teacher training systems in Europe, many of which were in course of reorganisation during the period (1964-68) covered by the Seminars. For those countries which had set up or retained separate schools or sections of schools to cater specifically for continued education pupils, the need for such training was clear. The Baden Seminar, however, appreciated that countries which had chosen some form of common, mulilateral, or comprehensive school as the means of providing lower secondary education would need to train teachers for work with the whole range of pupils. In these schools, the special needs of those who would finish their schooling at the end of the compulsory period should not be overlooked, and it was therefore desirable that some elements of the continued education prescription should be included in the training of teachers for lower secondary education which, in many countries, was being opened to pupils of a much wider range of ability, aptitude and social background than ever before. It was equally applicable to training for teaching in many vocational and professional schools and technical colleges, where an equally varied student body was emerging.

Bearing in mind that it is one of the functions of continued education to form "a bridge between leaving school and going to work on the one hand and adult education on the other", the Baden Seminar noted that many adults besides teachers were professionally concerned with the education of young people during their adolescence. Leaders of youth groups and of sporting and recreational activities, instructors in industrial training establishments, vocational guidance officers, adult educators, social welfare workers and many others all played some part in helping to form young people's personalities, in encouraging their development and in guiding them towards adulthood. In many countries there were special institutions concerned with training for these out-of-

school or post-school but nevertheless educational professions [1]. Both these institutions and the people they trained constituted a valuable source of professional skill and experience in the field of informal education for young people on which the training of teachers for continued education could usefully draw. Indeed the Seminar went on to recommend that consideration be given to "the desirability, if only in view of (professional) mobility, of training suitable adults to work in several fields where they will be in contact with young workers". It is interesting to note that the Newsom Report [2] similarly recommended that joint training courses should be established in England for intending secondary school teachers and for students intending to enter other social services.

4. *Further training*

In making these recommendations, the delegates to Baden and Interlaken were aware that they were making high demands both on would-be teachers and the institutions responsible for training them. They were, in effect, asking for a new look at both the academic preparation and the professional skills required, and suggesting that the level of both should be raised, and their content renovated and broadened. They were also aware that, in many European countries the necessary changes in teacher training systems had not always kept pace with the reforms of school structures. Even where new forms of training had been put in hand it would take decades before their products formed a majority of the teaching body. The emergence of new subjects and psycho-pedagogical methods, of new perspectives in traditional areas of the curriculum, and the rapid development of educational technology—all these had to be made available to the existing body of teachers by means of further training if the reforms, especially in the lower secondary sector were to pass from the legislature to the classroom. Some evidence of teachers' realisation of the need for further training, though drawn from a single area, is provided by a survey of a representative sample of 111 lower secondary schools of various types in England and Wales in 1967 [3]. Some 1,400 members of staff concerned with the teaching of statutory (i.e. 15-year-old) school leavers were asked what types of training or experience would help them with the problems expected to arise with the extension of the compulsory school period. Their greatest demand was "for courses concerned with new developments in their subjects and with techniques for putting the subject over to the kind of pupils who would be affected by the raising of the school leaving age". Some 70 % of them wanted more knowledge of actual work and conditions in the different fields of employment which their pupils were likely to enter, while two thirds would have welcomed courses in social science or social psychology to increase their understanding of family background and behavioural problems. It should be noted that the sample included university graduates with or without professional training, and those who, after completing upper secondary education, had received two and three-year courses of professional training at teacher training colleges.

To mount a programme of further training for practising teachers will put an additional strain on training resources which, in most European countries, are already overloaded. And yet it must be done if the continued education sector is to be manned by well-trained teachers. In-service training will clearly be important, and although a detailed schedule of the variety of forms it might take are outside the scope of this study, one or two observations might nevertheless be appropriate. Any in-service programme will need a solid core of courses which release the teacher for a period of one term, a year, or even longer in cases where he needs to acquire a substantial body of new knowledge. Adequate financial support, and arrangements for his temporary replacement, however difficult these may seem in a time of limited resources and teacher shortage, are essential concomitants of this type of course. This core will need to be supplemented by a wide variety of shorter courses and conferences, ranging from the one-day to a week or more in length, which bring together teachers and others concerned with the education and training of the adolescent to exchange experiences, to discuss common problems, or to learn something of recent research and interesting practice in this field. Evening courses, where appropriate, can offer a more continuous (and arduous) for of training. As in other fields of further education, they might well be progressively replaced by day-release courses, in which the teacher is released from his teaching duties for one day per week in order to attend. 'Sandwich' courses, in which a term of teaching alternates with a similar period of further training, have some advantages, not least of organisation, for the teacher's school and for the training institutions.

From what has already been said about the need for teachers to have some first-hand knowledge of the world of work, it follows that arrangements for them to do so should be regarded as

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1. See *Workers in Adult Education*, Education in Europe Series No. 5, Council of Europe.
2. Op. cit, p. 103.
3. *The Young School Leaver*, Schools Council, HMSO, London 1968.

part of their further training. There is evidence that in many countries (the Federal Republic, Denmark, France, and Belgium are not the only examples), closer contacts between teachers and industry and commerce are being made in the course of arranging visits and periods of works experience for pupils in their final years at school. These contacts are often extended when teachers, employers and trade union members sit together on joint advisory committees concerned with the guidance, training and employment of young people. There may, nevetheless, be a need for teachers actually to work in industry for short periods, so that they can find out for themselves what daily life is like in factories, shops, offices, agriculture and other enterprises [1]. Although teachers of general subjects may well feel the strongest need for such in-service experience, it should not necessarily be provided only for them. Teachers of practical subjects, both in general and vocational schools, may benefit by refreshing their own first-hand knowledge of the world of work. Though many may, at some early stage, have worked in industry, their experience could well be out of date in face of recent and rapid technological changes.

Important as attendance at courses and conferences may be in providing further training, two further means may well come to play an increasingly important role. The first is radio and television. While this is not the place to discuss the present and future use of closed-circuit television in teacher training of all kinds, there is no doubt that programmes on open networks concerned with the method and content of education for the young school leaver and young worker can help serving teachers, whether as individuals or as members of listening or viewing groups, to keep abreast of new developments. In France, for example, a 32-week television programme, transmitted in 1967-68 and designed for continued education pupils, was preceded by an intensive series of radio transmissions which prepared teachers to make fruitful use of the television broadcasts with their classes [2].

A second means is related to the substantial amount of curricular development, which, as the Baden Seminar recommended, will need to be promoted in this field. As new curricula, new teaching methods and new materials are evolved through research and experiment, and as they are tried out in the schools, the co-operation of serving teachers able and willing to try them out in practice will be vitally necessary. They will need to be briefed not only in the use of this experimental material, but also in the controlled observation of its educative value for their pupils. This could well lead to the setting up of local teachers' centres where they could meet to discuss results, exchange experiences, and to devise new developments of their own. This element in further training could be all the more valuable because it is directly linked with their day-to-day experience in the classroom. It is this approach which informs certain aspects of the Danish Experimental Centre at Rodøvre [3], and in England, the humanities programme in preparation for the raising of the school leaving age promoted by the Schools Council [4].

5. *Some professional problems*

In concentrating their attention on the qualities and training, the Baden and Interlaken Seminars were nevertheless aware of the fundamental problem of how to recruit or retain enough teachers for continued education. In nearly all European countries, the often concurrent extension of compulsory or voluntary schooling, the opening of secondary education to more children, the proliferation of alternative careers for young people who in earlier days would have become teachers, had combined to produce a serious shortage of teachers which promised to become even more acute as these trends continued. It was, nevertheless, essential to the success of the reform of lower secondary education that continued education should receive its share of teachers who were able and willing to meet the high demands made on them. It will only do so if these high demands are suitably recognised in their terms of employment, which, in practice, include not only their salary and conditions of work but also their status and prospects of professional advancement. Although it could reasonably be said that this is just another facet of the larger problem of the changed position of the teacher in modern Europe, it is likely to be particularly difficult in continued education.

As has been seen, one of the driving forces behind educational reform has been the need to tap the large reserves of talent in the hitherto underprivileged sections of the population. An important function of reformed school systems is therefore to identify children who are capable of

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1. For a interesting account of an English experiment on these lines, see "Closer Links between Teachers and Industry and Commerce", *The Schools Council Working Paper No. 7*, HMSO, London 1966.
2. See "Broadcasting and the Prolongation of School Attendance in France", Henri Dieuzeide, *European Broadcasting Review*, Autumn 1967.
3. See above, pp. 34-35.
4. "Society and the Young School Leaver", *Schools Council Working Paper No. 11*, HMSO, London 1967.

profiting from the sort of improved and extended education which they have previously been denied. In parallel or "vertical" systems, greater emphasis is given to the common core, new balances are evolved between the general and vocational elements in the curriculum, observation and guidance are stressed and transfer eased from one path to another. In other systems, where the solution has been sought in the creation of comprehensive, multilateral or middle schools, the same features are equally apparent, since the task of increasing the supply of able, well-educated manpower to meet the demands of the middle and upper strata of the professions, business and the public service is common to both. A traditional secondary education, sometimes renovated by the inclusion of scientific and technological elements is often seen as an adequate prescription, and traditional teaching methods and criteria of sucess or failure are still applied. Even where teachers appreciate that the education of the few is different in quality as well as quantity from the education of the many, they may find the teaching of the able children, capable of responding to the accepted goals of academic endeavour, more attractive than teaching their less able, less responsive fellows. In conditions of overall teacher shortage, and in face of the increasing demand for teachers in upper secondary and higher education, which are also expanding fast, the reserves of teacher talent left to man the continued education sector of lower secondary and vocational schools may be significantly reduced.

In Western Europe, despite recent reforms, it is still broadly true that the status and prestige of a teacher is a function of the academic level at which he teaches, the extent of his subject specialism, and the ability, judged by academic criteria, of his pupils. This evaluation has long been embodied in a professional hierarchy, of which the secondary teacher, especially at the upper level, has been the apex and the primary and the vocational teacher the base. While the former has required high academic qualifications and, at best, a relatively brief professional training, the latter has a preparation for teaching in which the proportions of the two elements are almost reversed.

The modifications to this hierarchy required by conditions of teacher recruitment and supply and by the new pattern of lower secondary education are already in progress. The Council of Europe [1] has noted, in an earlier publication, that, in a majority of member States, a distinction is now made between teachers for the shorter and longer secondary courses, and in the recruitment and training of each. It is possible to discern the emergence of an intermediate grade corresponding to the shorter course, with higher entry requirements (a certificate of intermediate or upper secondary education), and a training period of from 2 to 3 years at a university, teacher training college or a specialised institute.

For many years, however, the staffing of lower secondary (including vocational) schools will continue to be dependent on the products of the old training system. In practice, many primary teachers and specialist teachers of technical and vocational subjects have moved into the lower secondary schools, where they find themselves teaching in the same age-sector and in some cases in the same schools as existing secondary teachers. Clearly there are many problems to be overcome before a body of such diverse origins can be welded into a united teaching force with common professional standards and objectives, and these problems may well appear earliest, and in their most acute form, in the comprehensive or middle school.

In these circumstances it is realistic to assume that much of the education of the continued education pupils will be in the hands of teachers trained for primary, intermediate or lower vocational schools. This could well have advantages. The primary teachers, with their better training in child psychology, their frequently closer experience of the social milieu of the ordinary pupil, and their greater versatility, at least in the general subjects, could make a valuable contribution to the evolution of a new pedagogy. The practical skills and work-orientated outlook of the vocational and technical teachers clearly have a part to play in a more practically-biased curriculum. The intermediate teachers, many of whom have been upgraded from the primary ranks by further study and training, could add a similar leaven of specialist subject knowledge.

Further training along the lines already indicated could build on these advantages and help to remedy deficiencies. To the general, but often modest academic equipment of the primary teacher could be added an improved knowledge of one more subjects. Teachers of technical and vocational subjects could often benefit from further pedagogic training, especially in using their pupils' interest in things mechanical and practical to improve their general education. Teachers from the former intermediate and secondary sectors could usefully be helped to broaden their understanding of the ordinary pupil and of non-traditional teaching methods.

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1. J. Majault, *Teacher Training*, Education in Europe Series No. 4, Council of Europe, Strasbourg 1965.

6. *Conclusion*

It would be unrealistic to expect that continued education will fare any better than other sectors of the school systems of Europe in its efforts to recruit and retain a teaching force of high quality. There are clear dangers that it could well fare worse, if the special needs of its pupils, and the special teaching skills needed to meet them, are not adequately recognised in the conditions of recruitment, the content of training, and the professional status of the teachers. If the teachers in this sector feel themselves to be, or are regarded by society and their fellow-teachers, as the teachers of the lower orders, this will inevitably communicate itself to their pupils. This could well nullify the beneficial effects of the improvements in the status and training of lower secondary teachers which have been achieved or are in process in many European countries. The progressive emergence of the common school at the lower secondary stage will inevitably lead to the establishment of unified training and professional conditions for its teachers. In these circumstances, it is probably unrealistic to think of a teaching force destined to teach, exclusively and permanently, in continued education. It would be equally unfortunate if the interests of the intellectually or socially underprivileged pupil were not given an important place in the general training for secondary teachers.

PART VI

CONCLUSION:

CONTINUED EDUCATION AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

1. (i) Part I of this study described the pace and magnitude of some of the main socio-economic changes which are transforming the face of Europe in the second half of this century. Particular emphasis was given to those aspects which most affected the lives of young people who receive only the minimum of compulsory schooling before entering employment as apprentices or unskilled workers.

(ii) Parts II, III and IV reviewed the steps being taken by the education and other authorities responsible for the education and training of these young people to strengthen their capacity to respond to this challenge. Some implications for the recruitment, training and professional development of their teachers were briefly explored in Part V.

(iii) This concluding chapter will attempt to suggest answers to two questions :

(*a*) Is the educational response adequate to meet the socio-economic challenge ?

(*b*) What more needs to be done ?

2. *Initial schooling*

(i) The post-war period, and especially the last decade, has brought a longer period of initial schooling for an increasing proportion of young people in all member countries. This has been achieved either by postponing the terminal date or by encouraging voluntary extension of school life, or by a combination of both. These developments have at least made it possible for many more young people to receive a more substantial base of initial education.

(ii) Vigorous and varied steps have been taken to bring about greater equality of educational opportunity. Access to post-elementary education, once the virtual preserve of the better-off or better-educated classes, is being progressively opened to a higher proportion of children. The postponement or abolition of selection at the age of 11 or 12, the creation of more and larger separate post-primary or secondary schools, the reorganisation of school systems on comprehensive or multilateral lines, have been the principal means to this end. Their application is by no means universal or complete, but in most member countries the old pattern of elementary education for the majority and secondary education for the minority is dying.

(iii) These changes have necessitated a radical re-examination of the purpose and content of the first stage or cycle of secondary education, on the assumption that most or, in many cases, all young people will complete it. This in turn has not only made possible the postponement of premature and pre-emptive choice of course and curriculum, but has led to the development of broader, more flexible programmes. Though these have taken many forms, certain common trends may be discerned :

(*a*) the establishment of a central core of general education for all pupils, which continues, with relatively minor modification, throughout the lower secondary course ;

(*b*) a postponement and reduction of premature specialisation, either in academic subjects or in narrowly work-orientated skills ;

(*c*) a strengthening of those studies designed to improve scientific understanding ;

(*d*) a broadening of the "humanities" to include more study of contemporary society ;

(*e*) more time within the normal curriculum for sports and physical recreation, and for art, craft and music ;

(*f*) a broader and more conscious preparation for employment designed to increase the pupil's knowledge and first-hand experience of the world of work as a basis for his subsequent choice of job ;

(*g*) a greater concern for the development of the pupil as an individual and an active participant in his own personal, social and general education, rather than as a passive recipient of "instruction".

(iv) All these changes mean that pupils who complete no more than the minimum compulsory period have at least been offered a longer, better-balanced education in a context which, in most member countries, is less restrictive and "dead-end" than the forms of terminal elementary or junior vocational education which it replaced. Perhaps the strongest testimony to the effectiveness of these educational reforms is the progressive reduction in the numbers and proportion who do leave at the earliest possible opportunity, and in the corresponding increase in those choosing to stay on voluntarily, and to proceed to upper secondary education and beyond.

(v) But there is another side to the picture. It is still open to question whether the extension and enrichment of minimal schooling has in fact kept pace with the explosion of knowledge and the rapidity of socio-economic change. It could well be argued that many "children of the minimum" remain in much the same position of relative disadvantage as their predecessors. As more of their contemporaries stay on voluntarily at school they could become an even more depressed minority. There is, moreover, the question of examinations. In many countries, an examination leading to a certificate marks the end of the first 3 or 4-year stage of secondary education, and success is a prerequisite of progress either to the next stage of full-time education or to training as, say, a technician. Although the gap between the age at which this examination is normally taken and the minimum school leaving age has either narrowed or disappeared, it still exists, even in some of the more developed school systems. Until this gap is closed, the early school leaver will remain at a disadvantage unless adequate "second-chance" opportunities of acquiring these or equivalent qualifications are provided in post-school or further education.

(vi) Another unresolved problem arises, inronically enough, from the increasing democratisation of secondary education. Until the post-war tide of reform, the principal task of secondary education was to prepare a selected minority for entry to higher education and the traditionally middle-class professions. Its curriculum and pedagogy leaned heavily on the study of subjects as separate academic disciplines. Whatever its shortcomings, its objectives were clear, and acceptable to most teachers and pupils. The shorter quasi-secondary course, often to be found in technical or commercial schools with a strong vocational orientation, had equally clear objectives. In turn, the terminal elementary course offered to the majority was designed, within its shorter time-span, to provide the basic literacy and numeracy necessary for future employment as rank-and-file workers. The creation of a common first-stage secondary curriculum, to which many member countries have moved in their different ways, has met with serious problems of reconciling these three component traditions. Its supporters would claim that this broader curriculum provides opportunities for progress and fulfilment of their true capacity for many able pupils which would have been denied to them under the earlier separatist system. Premature and pre-emptive decisions are reduced, and the possibilities of extended vocational and educational guidance are enhanced. Its critics, on the other hand, would contend that the amalgamation has not given sufficient weight to the needs of those pupils of average and less than average ability who continue to leave school at the end of the compulsory period. The traditional subject-based secondary curriculum, they claim, still exercises a dominant influence on the amalgam, and militates against the evolution of a genuinely comprehensive lower secondary programme which is the result of radical re-thinking and replanning in the light of the psychological and social influences which basically condition all pupils' attitudes to learning and their capacity to benefit from it. Many member countries would contend that such radical re-thinking has in fact been brought to bear on their secondary curricula, but few would deny that many young people continue to leave full-time schooling at the earliest opportunity, having found little in the programme of their final years which was relevant to their interests and experience. Though less inadequately prepared to face employment and the difficult transition to adulthood than a previous generation, they are hardly equipped for the radical and rapid changes of social and economic role which living well into the twenty-first century is almost certain to bring to most of them.

(vii) Perhaps the best hope for the future lies in the rising tide of misgivings about the validity of the traditional curricula and pedagogy of upper secondary and higher academic education which, despite continual debate and much innovation, have proved less susceptible to change than any other sector, with the universities often seeming to be the core of resistance and thereby inhibiting developments in those parts of the school system from which they draw their students. There are few member countries, however, in which the mounting tide of students' dissatisfaction with an education which they regard as rigid, narrow, and often irrelevant has not encouraged the forces of reform. These as yet uncertain pressures may soon be met by mounting pressures from below. In primary education, rigid standards and measurements of progression have crumbled before the deeper and more widespread knowledge of the growth and development of young children and its effect on the learning process. This has both prompted and been reinforced by the progressive abolition of mechanical procedures of selection for secondary education. This progressive blurring of the fixed dividing line between primary and secondary has, in turn, encouraged the tendency to regard at least the early years of secondary education as a period of observation and guidance of the individual pupil, and its curriculum as a succession of varied learning experiences rather than as an arbitrary collection of separate subjects, to be studied as disciplines in themselves, or vocational skills directly relevant to particular occupations.

(viii) The lower secondary curriculum has therefore become the meeting-place, and to some extent the battleground of these conflicting pressures. That it is most pointedly illustrated by the tensions in some large comprehensive schools is not a criticism of this form of secondary school

organisation. Nor is it an implied accolade for the many humane and imaginative attempts (e.g. the Austrian Polytechnic Year or the so-called Individual Technical Education in the Netherlands) to make separate provision for the special needs of the young school leaver. Rather does it underline the fact that the progressive reform of the secondary curriculum is as yet incomplete. But the need for thorough-going reform has been given extra point and urgency by the extended presence in full-time schooling of increasing numbers of children who, as Professor Bernstein has aptly put it, are not sustained by "the built-in curriculum of a middle-class upbringing".

3. *The training and continued education of apprentices*

(i) The main features of the response to socio-economic change have been :

(*a*) The extension of apprenticeship or comparable facilities for post-school education and training to a wider band of occupations and to more young people ;

(*b*) An increased awareness that employers and education authorities are partners in ensuring that apprenticeship is a period of organised and progressive learning ;

(*c*) A growth in the practice of releasing apprentices during working hours for concurrent further education ;

(*d*) The emergence of broader and more flexible forms of vocational education, and a consequent modification of earlier forms of training for single occupations ;

(*e*) Increased attention to the all-round educational needs of the apprentice.

(ii) These are major advances which, though far from fully realised in some member countries, are widely recognised as desirable objectives. Without, however, undervaluing them, it is yet pertinent to ask if they are adequate to meet the pace and extent of present and foreseeable socio-economic change.

(iii) One area of doubt is the apprenticeship system itself. Although its survival is a considerable testimony of its capacity for adaptation to meet new needs, there are signs that its traditional orientation towards the manipulative crafts has been an inhibiting factor when it has attempted to accommodate new types and levels of skill which call for different knowledge applied in new contexts. The length of apprenticeship, based on the traditional assumption that it was intended to endow the young apprentice with a life-long skill, has often had to be slowly and painfully readjusted to changes in the length and content of his full-time schooling, and to the increased possibilities for subsequent adaptative re-education and re-training in adult life.

(iv) While the increasing partnership between employers and educational institutions has brought substantial gains, there are shortcomings and tensions in this dual system. Many of these spring from the inevitably different objectives of the partners. It would be easy to polarise these differences as being between the immediate needs of the employer for saleable production and the educator's concern to prepare young people more broadly for adult life. To do so could often be misleading. Many large and progressive employers would claim, with some justice, that they have a broader and more flexible view of vocational education and training than the institutions who are their educational partners. The institutions, in their turn, point to the many employers who are either unable or unwilling to provide training which looks beyond their immediate resources and needs. Even where, as in several member countries, there is a joint State/employer agency, these different viewpoints are often hard to reconcile. The overall education and training programme of the apprentice therefore becomes a kind of disputed no-mans-land which is not large enough to contain the claims of the partners, with the employer begrudging every moment spent on further education not immediately "relevant" to his immediate needs, and the educator striving always to achieve what he regards as a more truly educational balance between training for work and for the larger purposes of life.

(v) An uncommitted observer of this conflict cannot but be disturbed by the assumptions which lie at the heart of this debate. They can be highlighted by comparing the educational diet of those young people who choose to stay on in full-time education and those who quit school and enter employment. In the former case, there is a conscious attempt to achieve an equitable balance between the vocational, social and general educational needs of the student. Its weakness, if weakness there be, is an undue emphasis on general education as interpreted by the professional educator, who may well be out of touch with the needs of modern industry and commerce. In the latter, the employee status of the learner seems to have an unhealthy predominance, and to lead to an undesirable devaluation of any form of education for personal development which does not manifestly serve immediate occupational ends. Thus, while aesthetic, kinaesthetic and other aspects of social and cultural education are recognised by society as substantial and desirable elements

in the education of young people who remain in full-time education until they are 18, they are either absent or only marginally represented in the continued education of apprentices. This contrast in treatment of different members of the same age-group is likely to be sharpened as more young people continue in full-time schooling to age 18. While these dual standards obtain, claims that equality of educational opportunity has been achieved will be hard to sustain.

(vi) This is not necessarily an argument in favour of all young people remaining in existing forms of full-time academic or vocationally orientated education until they reach 18. It does, however, suggest that all would-be skilled workers in that age group should be essentially regarded as students engaged in full-time learning rather than as wage-earning contributors to saleable production. Once this principle is accepted, then it should be possible to design programmes of learning which are a balanced reflection of the needs, abilities and aptitudes of these young people. Such a programme could well contain substantial and alternating periods of learning in the work situation and learning in an educational institution The proportions spent in each would be significantly different from those commonly found under the present day-release pattern. Several countries are already moving in this direction either by increasing the time spent in school or college to two days per week, or through a system of blocks of continuous full-time education interspersed with somewhat longer periods at work. The "sandwich" course (alternating half-years in college and in industry) is already being followed by small numbers. Ordinary national diploma students in the United Kingdom may be suggestive in form if not necessarily in content and balance, in this context.

4. *The young unskilled worker*

Generalisation about the educational response in this sector is difficult, because the size, nature and needs of the group of young people concerned differ so widely from country to country. Some general trends and problems can be indicated.

Because of the extension of full-time schooling and the increase in employment requiring training and further education, the proportion of unskilled workers in the 14-18 age group is being progressively reduced.

In many countries, they will nevertheless continue to form a substantial proportion of that age group for at least the next decade.

Compulsory or extensive voluntary arrangements for their release from work for continued personal and vocational education exist in only a minority of member countries.

The persistence of concepts of "skilled" and "unskilled", "vocational" and "non-vocational" which have become increasingly unsuited to current socio-economic realities is a major obstacle to further advance.

Though relatively small in quantity, there is a sufficient body of varied experience in developing educational institutions, organisations and programmes for young workers which, with further investigation and research, could form a useful guide to further development in many member countries.

A major aim of social educational and economic policy for the next decade should be the redefinition of the status of all young workers, whether skilled or unskilled, so that their learning needs, whether in the work or the educational situation, are given priority over their direct contribution to the productive process. As a higher proportion of their contemporaries remain in full-time education and training, the relative deprivation of the remainder will become less defensible, whether on grounds of economic wisdom or social equity.

5. *Lifelong education*

(i) It will be recalled that the resolution of the 1965 Conference of Ministers recommended that this study of continued education "be extended with particular reference to the further education associated with the training of apprentices and young workers, and to related problems of lifelong education".

(ii) In June 1967, the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe decided to give priority to "the implementation of the concept of lifelong education in the forward looking perspective of Europe 20 years ahead". Since then much progress has been made in developing the concept and in identifying significant trends and experiments in a number of member countries.

(iii) The basic thesis of lifelong education is that the pace and pervasiveness of socio-economic change have rendered obsolete any traditional educational system which assumes that man's initial schooling in his youth can endow him with a store of knowledge and skill which will be valid for the rest of his life. It should therefore be progressively replaced by a system of "recurrent education", which provides a succession of varied opportunities for people of all ages consciously to resume their personal vocational and general education. This, in turn, requires a radical re-thinking of the purpose, content and methods of initial schooling. Instead of seeking to reflect the features of yesterday's society — stability, inequality, and the mastery of fixed techniques — it must prepare the young for the society of to-day and to-morrow, whose essential characteristics are change, equality and technical and social innovation.

(iv) If, during the remaining years of this century, the educational systems of Europe are to move towards this new pattern, to what extent are the developments in continued education reviewed in this study likely to help or hinder this process ?

(v) It must first be appreciated that, for historical reasons, much of the post-war activity in continued education has been based on what might be called the "initial endowment" assumption about the nature and purpose of school systems. The major drive has therefore been towards extending the duration of initial schooling, and making some form of lower secondary education available to all children. In the post-school sector, emphasis has been concentrated on extending and improving the arrangements for the training and associated further education of the young skilled worker, and on reducing the numbers of young people whose organised learning ceases after their initial schooling. These objectives, especially for the unskilled worker, have still to be realised in many member countries but, for reasons indicated earlier in this study, they are likely to continue as desirable aims of reform in the foreseeable future.

(vi) While generally welcoming these developments, many protagonists of lifelong education regard them critically. They doubt if any traditional school system is capable, beyond a certain point, of overcoming "the force of inertia inherent in its practices, values and technical machinery" [1]. They see more and more young people being compelled or persuaded to stay on longer at school as the passive recipients of successive doses of inert, indigestible and often irrelevant instruction, and afterwards to enter a system of vocational education and training which is at once narrow, pre-emptive and obsolescent. In particular they criticise the failure of professional educators to appreciate the erosion of their fancied monopoly of educative influence and to realise that they provide only one of the many means of learning which, in an era of mass communications, are available outside the school walls.

(vii) There is much evidence in this present study to support these criticisms. Many school curricula, especially those which are centrally prescribed, have failed to adapt to the pace of socio-economic change and to the needs, aptitudes and abilities of their extended clientele. In the confusion of objectives, it is often the least intellectually or socially fortunate who are the worst served, both during and after their initial schooling. Teaching methods remain over-didactic and inhibited by school organisations still based on the cellular classroom, the cellular class, and the cellular "subject". Vocational training and further education is similarly fragmented by the obsolescent framework of apprenticeship with its narrow and premature orientation towards a particular trade or occupation. The continued learning of the unskilled worker, if it is catered for at all, is minimal in content and restrictive in objective.

(viii) There are, nevertheless, a number of important aspects of the development of continued education which can be interpreted as helping, albeit modestly, to prepare the way for the larger concept of lifelong education.

There is some reason for supposing that, even in traditional school systems, the appetite for further education grows by what it feeds on. It is among people who have had more than the minimum of initial schooling that the various forms of adult education find most of their clientele. Since one of the main features of continued education has been to secure more than this minimum for more young people, it is perhaps not over-optimistic to expect that this will motivate its recipients to seek and demand more opportunities for education in later life.

The long-term effects of a new, enlarged and older clientele on secondary education should not be underestimated. In most member countries, it is less, often considerably less, than ten years since lower secondary education has been faced with the task of educating all young people up to

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1. "Permanent education — an agent of change", H. Janne, p. 28, *Council of Europe Information Bulletin* No. 3/1969.

the age of 14, 15 or 16. It has had to work with existing resources of buildings, teachers and teacher training provision, all of which have taken time to adjust to the new situation. First priority has frequently been given to ensuring that abler or more socially fortunate children's access to higher education is not hampered by the change. Nevertheless, the presence of so many less able, less privileged, less traditionally motivated young people has combined with greater knowledge of the factors affecting the learning process to produce some radical re-thinking of secondary curricula and teaching methods. This has often made most headway in the continued education sector, where educators have been forced to develop approaches which engage the active interest and participation of their pupils, and which take increasing account of learning opportunities and influences outside the classroom. Without in any way minimising the obstacles which still hinder progress, it is the writer's impression that its momentum is accelerating, though it needs increasing sustenance from a volume of research and experiment comparable to that hitherto devoted to more socially or academically prestigious sectors of education. If this is forthcoming, there is a reasonable possibility that increasing numbers of continued education pupils will find their initial schooling an enjoyable, interesting and relevant experience, and will therefore be all the more ready to return to education when the circumstances of their adult life demand it.

Less widespread, but of great potential importance is the emergence, in some countries, of what is sometimes called the "community" school. Such an institution regards its educational responsibilities as spreading far beyond its day-time classroom contacts with its pupils. Through the development of youth clubs for past and present pupils, by encouraging parents and other members of the local community to use the school premises for recreative, social and educational purposes, they are reaching for a new identity as a focus for local participation and community action. In doing so, they are drawing on the considerable resources of expertise in informal approaches to education which many youth and adult education agencies possess.

Perhaps the most important development in vocational education and training is the growing recognition that the purpose of its early post-school stage is no longer to equip young workers with a package of knowledge and skill which will last them a lifetime, but rather to provide them with a base of scientific, technical and social understanding on which the succeeding stages of education and training can be built when the changing circumstances of their personal and working situations demand it. This development, too, needs to be sustained by further investigation of the totality of the learning needs and experiences of young workers which can be translated into balanced programmes of personal, vocational and social education. Such programmes can be envisaged as taking place in a variety of educative contexts, and in alternating but related periods of work experience, active community or social service, as well as more formal further and adult education.

6. It may be contended that, while such developments are reasonably to be envisaged for young skilled workers, they are unrealistic and even educationally inappropriate for the so-called "unskilled". Part of the difficulty would seem to lie in a concept of skill which is heavily charged with the stereotype of workers as so many "hands" applied to a productive process rather than as active participants in a plurality of relationships in their working, family and community situations. The relative neglect of educational provision for these young people, sometimes rationalised by writing them off as ineducable, is perhaps the least encouraging feature of continued education. Although it may seem politic and plausible to give higher priority to extending the education of abler and more educationally amenable young people, the growing interdependence of modern society makes it basically unwise to continue to neglect the educational needs of any substantial body of its citizens who contribute so much to the quality of its economic, social and civic life. They are still the children of the minimum as far as their initial educational endowment is concerned. Faced with traditional school systems unable or reluctant to cater for their needs, it may well be sounder long-term policy to develop forms of educational provision to which they can return when motivated to do so by pressing economic or social necessity. But it would be unfortunate if the development of this alternative diverted attention and resources from the primary and more urgent task of developing adequate programmes of continued education for the vital period of transition from school to adult life. It could be, in a very real sense, a proving ground for many of the hypotheses on which the concept of lifelong education for all members of society is based.

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